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INDEXED

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

CONTENTS

✓ The Church in Florida, 1763-1892

Edgar Legare Pennington

✓ Reminiscences of Arthur Cleveland Coxe, Bishop of
Western New York

Beginnings in Alaska

John W. Chapman

Reviews

They Were in Prison

Negley K. Tosters

The Life of Marie Moulton Graves Hopkins

J. H. Hopkins

A History of St. Augustine's College, 1867-1937

Halliburton

Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary, 1843-1844

Apostle of China—Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky
Muller

The Reverend George Ross

Pennington

William Tyndale

Mouley

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THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN FLORIDA, 1763-1892

By Edgar Legare Pennington

I.

ON THE 10th of February, 1763, the King of Spain ceded and guaranteed in full ownership to His British Majesty "Florida, with Fort Saint Augustine and the Bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses in the continent of North America to the east or southeast of the Mississippi River, and, in general, everything depending on the said countries and lands."¹ On the 7th of October, the same year, the boundaries of East and West Florida were fixed by royal proclamation. East Florida was bounded by the Gulf of Mexico and the Apalachicola River; north by a line drawn from the junction of the Catahouchee (Chattahoochee) and Flint Rivers to the source of St. Mary's River, and by the course of that river to the Atlantic Ocean; and east and south by the ocean and the Gulf of Florida, "including all islands within six leagues of the seacoast." The other province, West Florida, was bounded on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the coast, from the Apalachicola River to Lake Pontchartrain; westward by the said lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the Mississippi River; to the north by a line drawn due east from that part of the Mississippi River which lies in 31 degrees North Latitude to the Apalachicola (or Catahouchee) River; and eastward by the said river.² At the beginning of the British occupation, the inhabitants of the whole of Florida numbered scarcely more than seven thousand; and they were gathered principally in the towns of St. Augustine and Pensacola. They depended largely on government and

¹*British Record Office, State Papers, 108/124.*

²*Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature for the Year 1763 (London, 1765), p. 209.*

military employment. With the cession, there was a general exodus of Spanish-speaking people; this was replaced in time by the immigration of English subjects, particularly from South Carolina as well as from overseas. In 1766, settlers arrived from the Bermudas. Doctor Andrew Turnbull undertook the development of a colony at New Smyrna; and Dennis Rolles launched a settlement not far from the present site of Palatka. After the American Revolution began, quite a few loyalist sympathisers took refuge in Florida.

During the time in which East and West Florida were British provinces, no fewer than nine clergymen were licensed for service by the Bishop of London. Besides, there were other ministers who held occasional services, as well as school-masters. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts co-operated with the Bishop of London to the extent of selecting clergymen for the Florida posts, ascertaining their qualifications, and recommending them for appointment; but the Society did not bear the expense of their journey or contribute to their stipend. Each regularly licensed clergyman received a royal bounty to defray the cost of his travel; his salary, which amounted to £100 a year, was paid by the government. The school-masters received a stipend of £50.

Governor James Grant, the first governor of East Florida, was a strong friend of the Church. By his commission (October 4th, 1763), he was given authority "to collate any Person or Persons to any Churches, Chapels, and other ecclesiastical Benefices," within the province, as often as any of them should happen to be void.³ On evacuating East Florida, the Spaniards had left their new parish church unfinished and inadequate for use. The English, on arrival, took charge of the public buildings which they found. Steps were taken by Governor Grant to organize the government of the province and to procure settlers.

In the meantime, the British Parliament had made provision for four ministers for the Florida provinces, as well as four school-masters.⁴ The Reverend John Forbes was "licensed to the plantations" of East Florida, May 5th, 1764—specifically to St. Augustine; the Reverend Samuel Hart, to Mobile (then in the bounds of West Florida), May 5th—that is, the same day; the Reverend William Dawson, to Pensacola, July 2nd. A warrant, identical in form with the warrants issued to the other clergymen, was issued in 1764 to "Michael Smith Clerk," to the "Church and Parish of St Marks in Our Province of East Florida."⁵

³*Public Record Office; Colonial Office, 5/563, p. 18.*

⁴*Acts of Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, VI., pp. 366, 389.*

⁵*Fulham MSS., reprinted in Protestant Episcopal Historical Collections, 1851, p. 112.*

Mr. Smith was not listed among the appointees of the Bishop of London to East Florida, although he was licensed by that Bishop "in the Island of Jamaica," June 19th, 1764. The extent of his services is unknown; at the end of January, 1765, he was in Jamaica, whence he drew on the provincial agent in England for his salary, giving as his excuse his extreme necessity and unexpected difficulties.^a

John Forbes, the first Anglican minister in East Florida, was a man of exemplary qualities; he was destined to play a prominent part in the administrative and judicial life of the province as well as in the Church. He was born in Strathdon, Scotland, in 1740; and took his master of arts degree from the University of Aberdeen in 1758, afterwards attending classes in Divinity. There he was a diligent student and good scholar, and proved of unblameable character. He arrived in Florida about the same time as Governor Grant. On November 22nd, 1764, that official appointed the clergyman to a seat on the Council Board. As one of the few educated men in the province, Mr. Forbes became a valuable asset to Grant and his successors. He served on the Council during his whole residence in Florida.

Soon after taking charge of the government, Grant proceeded to furnish a site for the worship of the Church; for this purpose he selected the property used during the Spanish regime as the house of the Roman Catholic bishop. Mr. Forbes's first Florida services were conducted in that house; it stood where Trinity Church stands to-day. The parish church left unfinished by the Spaniards was probably built of stone or coquina; it was located on the site of the present Colonial Hotel, on the west side of St. George Street. Governor Grant undertook to complete the new church, and added to it a square tower and steeple. This first Anglican church in Florida was called St. Peter's Church. It is not known just when Mr. Forbes discontinued services in the temporary quarters afforded by the bishop's house. The spire of St. Peter's Church was not completed until the administration of Governor John Moultrie.

Mr. Enoch Hawksworth was recommended by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for appointment as school-master in East Florida, at the Society's meeting, November 16th, 1764. He was appointed and entered on his duties early the following year. During the American Revolution, he returned to England. In March, 1765, two school-masters were appointed for the Floridas—John Firby, for Pensacola, and Jones Read, for St. Mark's. The latter place was not deemed of much practical importance, and its settlement was very

^a*Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 324/51, p. 234; Ibid., 5/540, pp. 207-210.*

slow; it was situated on the Gulf of Mexico, in East Florida. Governor Grant reported, in 1768, that there were no inhabitants in the St. Mark's section.

In West Florida, the British were handicapped from the start; and the short period of their occupation was full of struggles with threatening armies and with the disheartening effects of a climate to which they could not adapt themselves. The mortality was high, and there was a state of general depression. The red man was a constant menace. Colonel Prevost, of the 16th Regiment, has left a description of Pensacola, as the British found it.

"Pensacola is a small village consisting of about one hundred huts surrounded with a Stockade—Situated on the West-side of a very large bay at four Leagues distance from the Sea. . . . The Country from the insuperable Laziness of the Spaniards remains still uncultivated, the woods are close to the village and a few . . . Gardens shew the only improvements. . . . The Indians are numerous and near. . . . As I since learn of their Crueltys lately committed in America, and putting no great Confidence in their promises, I shall put this place in the best situation."

The first commission issued to Governor George Johnstone, of West Florida, November 21st, 1763, authorised him "to Collate any Person or Persons to any Churches, Chapels or other Ecclesiastical benefices" within the province, "as often as any of them shall happen to be void."

"And you are to take Care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout your Government—The Book of Common Prayer as by Law Established read each Sunday and Holiday and the Blessed Sacrament administred according to the Rites of the Church of England.

"You are not to prefer any Protestant Minister to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in the Province under your Government without a Certificate from the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London of his being conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England and of a good Life and Conversation."

No school-master was to be permitted to keep school without the Bishop's license.

"And it is Our further Will and Pleasure that a particular Spot in or near each Town as possible be set apart for the building a Church and four hundred Acres adjacent thereto

¹*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/582, pp. 26-28.*

allotted for the Maintenance of a Minister and two hundred for a school Master."⁸

At a meeting of the Council at Pensacola, November 25th, 1764, Governor Johnstone proposed a proclamation for the promoting of religion and the restraining of vice and immorality within the province.⁹ The minutes of a Council held at Mobile, January 7th, 1765, reveal that a committee of the inhabitants had met on the 18th of December, to consider ways and means for building a church. A public subscription was opened; the Governor subscribed £150 out of the contingent fund. Pews were to be let to the inhabitants.¹⁰

Two clergymen were sent to West Florida with reasonable promptness, both under the license of the Bishop of London, as we have seen. The Reverend Samuel Hart and the Reverend William Dawson reached their destinations shortly after their appointment (1764), and began their ministry. Both soon became discouraged. Hart, the first Anglican minister at Mobile—incidentally, the first to serve in the present limits of Alabama—is known to have preached when the general congress with the Indians was held. An interpreter explained his words sentence by sentence. In 1765, he moved to South Carolina, where he became assistant at St. Michael's Church, Charleston, during the rectorship of the Reverend Robert Cooper. In 1770, he entered on his duties as minister in charge of St. John's parish, Berkeley, South Carolina. In that parish he died, in 1779.¹¹ The Reverend William Dawson, first Church of England minister at Pensacola, was the son of the Reverend John Dawson, of Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire. He matriculated at University College, Oxford, October 30th, 1760, at the age of eighteen; and became a bachelor of arts. He was only twenty-two when he was called upon to face the difficulties of a pioneer field. It is hard to imagine a greater contrast to the cloistered repose of Oxford. He did not remain long in Florida: in 1766, he took charge of St. John's parish, Colleton, South Carolina. There he died, January 19th, 1767. He is buried in the old brick church on John's Island.¹² A South Carolina clergyman, the Reverend Charles Martyn, described their removal in a letter to the Bishop of London, October 20th, 1765:—

"The vacant Parishes in this Colony have been lately filled up by such Ministers as were sent out to East & west Florida; & who disliking their Missions in those parts, have

⁸MSS. in Library of Congress.

⁹Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/625, p. 6; *Ibid.*, 5/632, fol. 11.

¹⁰Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/625, pp. 35-39, 69.

¹¹Dalcho: *Historical Account of the P. E. Church in S. C.*, pp. 193, 272.

¹²Fothergill: *List of Emigrant Ministers to America*, p. 24; Foster: *Alumni Osoniensis, 1715-1886*.

removed & settled here. I believe it will be difficult for some Time to induce any Of the Clergy to reside in these infant Countries; where the Necessaries of Life are procured with great Difficulty, as well as purchased at the most exorbitant Rate. . . . M^r Hart going to Pensacola is chose Lecturer of S^t Michaels Charles Town 200 Guineas M^r Dawson S^t John Colleton County at 100^{lb} beside glebe & perquisites."¹³

The Reverend Charles Woodmason, of South Carolina, in his memorable "Account," regarding conditions in the southern colonies, described West Florida as it appeared about the year 1766.

"No Civil Jurisdiction is yet settled, which has drove all the People away that came there to settle. A Chaplain ought to be here with the Troops—but alas! None. The Gov^r is a single Person, Keeps a Concubine, has a Child by her and the Infection rages, and is copied. Greatly is it to be lamented (on the Side of Vertue & Religion) that Immoral & reprobate Persons are sent out as Gov^{rs} of Provinces, and more especially New, and to be cultivated Provinces."

At Mobile, said Mr. Woodmason, there was a chapel in the fort, but no chaplain. There, "The Inhabitants (copying after the Pattern set them by their Principal) are Strangers to the Paths of Vertue, and sunk in Dissoluteness and Dissipation. . . . A Person who calls himself a Clergyman, patrols about this Place, and officiates occasionally. But if He is One, They say He is such a Disgrace to the Character that they (bad as they are) hold him in Detestation."¹⁴ It is probable that Mr. Woodmason referred to one of the non-conformist ministers, who are mentioned in several West Florida letters; there was no clergyman of the Church of England on duty in West Florida between the early part of 1765 and the end of 1767.

On Christmas day, 1766, the provincial government of West Florida sought to encourage immigration into their rather forlorn and uninhabited region by passing "an Act to encourage foreigners to come into and settle in this province." The act permitted freedom of conscience and worship to Roman Catholics by special provision.¹⁵ For some time after the cession of West Florida to Great Britain, the Spanish Roman Catholic priest at Mobile, Father Ferdinand, continued to hold services in that town. He was tolerated and well regarded; but he finally felt compelled to abandon his flock and go to New Orleans, be-

¹³Fulham MSS., S. C. 230 (*Stevens & Brown Library of Congress Transcript*).

¹⁴Woodmason *Account of S. C., N. C., Ga., 1766* (Fulham MSS., S. C. ##298, 299, 300—*Stevens & Brown Library of Congress Transcript*).

¹⁵Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/623, pp. 43-46.

cause of the inability of his parishioners to support him. The unsettled state of the province caused indefinite postponement, so far as the physical equipment for the means of worship was concerned. No church was built in either Pensacola or Mobile during the whole period of the British occupation. The need was keenly felt, and was emphatically urged. An "Humble Representation of the Council and Assembly for the Province of West Florida" was addressed "to the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations," November 22nd, 1766. It contained the following argument for the erecting of churches in the two principal towns:—

"To see the Fortifications, Churches, Hospitals and Public Buildings, which are everywhere erecting in the Spanish Dominions, since the arrival of Don Antonio de Ulloa"—the Spanish governor at New Orleans—"whilst nothing is undertaken on our part is extreamly mortifying to those who consider the changeful State of European Powers. . . . We have not even any place of Worship for asking the Blessing of Providence on our Endeavours, neither any place for holding the Courts of Justice, nor even the meeting of Assembly, except such changable apartments, as are hired on the Occasions from the Scanty Contingencies of the Province."¹⁶

After the departure of Messrs. Hart and Dawson, a certain Doctor Wilkinson seems to have acted as chaplain of the garrisons at Mobile and, probably, at Pensacola. Nothing has been definitely ascertained regarding him. Certainly, after his death, no clergyman was left to attend to the spiritual needs of the soldiers and citizenry.

Equipment was furnished for public worship in the form of folio Bibles, prayer books, communion silver, pulpit hangings, and vestments. A list of the articles needed was approved by the Lords of Trade and Plantations, July 20th, 1764; and the same were sent in an artillery storeship to Florida.¹⁷ Doctor Charles M. Andrews has described the manner in which communion plate was loaned to the colonies, as in the case of East and West Florida.

"On warrants issued by the Lord Chamberlain to the master of the Jewel House or Office, orders were given to the goldsmiths to make silver communion plate for use in the churches and chapels of the colonies. When completed, such plate was received from the goldsmiths into the Jewel House and a receipt given therefor. From the Jewel House it was handed over to the governor of the colony or to someone

¹⁶*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/575, pp. 222-223.*

¹⁷*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/540, pp. 141-145; Warrant Book, 1762-1782, L. of C. 5/111, p. 24; Receipt Book, 1728-1764, L. of C. 9/48, p. 237.*

authorized to receive it, and transmitted to North America or the West Indies. In but few instances was it an outright gift. Generally it was a loan to the governor for the use of the chapel or church in the colony, designed to be handed on from governor to governor, or, on demand, or when no longer needed, returned to the Jewel House. In such cases the plate remained the property of the crown.

"The plate consisted of two flagons, one chalice, one or two patens, and a receiver or basin. Though the warrant generally limited the value to £80, the actual cost ranged from £56 to £87, and the weight from 180 to 205 ounces."¹⁸

William Stork, in his account of East Florida (1766), noted that "there are two churches within the walls of the town"—St. Augustine—"the parish church, a plain building, and another belonging to the convent of Franciscan friars, which is converted into barracks for the garrison." By "the parish church," Stork undoubtedly meant St. Peter's Church. According to the same author, the lands belonging to the Indian township nearby had been given to the parish church as glebelands.¹⁹ The Reverend Charles Woodmason included East Florida in his account (1766). The province, he said, consists of only one town—St. Augustine—two chapels, "but quite Naked—Void of all Embellishments; the Spaniards having stripped them of everything. There are few Traders or Inhabitants beside the Garrison, Settlers, Publick Officers, and others dependant on them. The Gov^r is a Single Man, keeps a Concubine, & the other Officers copy the Example—so that no Face or Appearance of Religion is there to be seen."²⁰

In 1768, some fourteen hundred Minorcans, a number of Frenchmen, and about seventy-five Greeks, under the leadership of Doctor Andrew Turnbull, formed a settlement on the North Hillsborough stream, which was named New Smyrna. The Reverend Mr. Forbes, of St. Augustine, visited this colony before the appointment of a regular minister. On the 23rd of March, 1769, the Reverend John Fraser was licensed to East Florida by the Bishop of London, and was designed for St. Mark's. He received the royal bounty to defray the cost of his passage, April 1st.²¹ On his arrival, he found the prospects of an effective work at St. Mark's hopeless, and he turned to the promising Turnbull colony. Hence Mr. Fraser became the first Anglican clergyman resident in the bounds of the present Diocese of South Florida, just as New

¹⁸Andrews: *Guides to the Materials for American History to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain*, II., p. 107.

¹⁹Stork: *An Account of East Florida, with a Journal, kept by John Bartram of Philadelphia, Botanist to His Majesty for The Floridas*. . . 1766, pp. 33-34.

²⁰Woodmason: *Account of S. C., N. C., Ga., 1766* (Fulham MSS., #298, 299, 300—Stevens & Brown Library of Congress Transcript).

²¹Fulham MSS., *Missionary Bonds; Fothergill: List of Emigrant Ministers*, p. 28.

Smyrna became the first established parish therein. Little is known of Mr. Fraser's services, although his name is mentioned from time to time in the documents. New Smyrna proved an important missionary field. Fraser died in 1772; after his death, other Church of England clergymen administered to the needs of the inhabitants.²²

On the 2nd of February, 1769, the Reverend Mr. Forbes married Miss Dorothy Murray, the daughter of James Murray, Esq., of Milton, Massachusetts, a man of considerable wealth and prominence. The three sons of this union achieved positions of leadership financially and politically; and their descendants are well-known and influential.²³ During the administrations which followed that of Governor James Grant, Mr. Forbes maintained his office and prestige. From the time of his first appointment to the Colonial Council, his name appears on many documents, which still exist in the archives of the British Public Record Office. Governor Patrick Tonyn, who began his administration in East Florida in March, 1774, was a warm supporter of the Church and an admirer of Mr. Forbes, whose services he utilized. Besides being a member of the Council, Forbes became sole judge surrogate of His Majesty's Court of Vice-Admiralty, and assistant judge of the Court of Common Law of the province. In February, 1776, William Drayton was suspended from the office of Chief Justice by Governor Tonyn; and Mr. Forbes was appointed his successor until the King's pleasure could be known. In recommending the confirmation of the appointment of Mr. Forbes as Chief Justice, Governor Tonyn said:—

"Although Mr Forbes has not been regularly bred to the Profession of the Law, I will venture to say, my Lord, from his liberal Sentiments, and Education, and the Application he has given to the knowledge of the Constitution and laws of the Country, he will discharge the Office with credit to himself, and satisfaction to the public. His knowledge and judgment in the law Department, has been of essential Service, in carrying on the public Business of the Province."²⁴

Mr. Drayton went to England to plead his cause, and succeeded in becoming reinstated in office. Forbes was thus deprived of his judicial functions, and denied all stipends and fees accruing during his incumbency. In December, 1777, Drayton was suspended from office a second time; and Governor Tonyn again appointed Mr. Forbes as Chief Justice. But Lord Germaine, the Secretary of State for the colonies, did not approve of the appointment of a clergyman to the office; and James Hume, acting attorney-general of Georgia, was installed.

²²*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/550, p. 75; Ibid., 5/575, p. 94.*

²³*Notice of Forbes's marriage: Georgia Gazette, April 5, 1769.*

²⁴*Letter to Lord George Germaine: Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/556, pp. 549-552.*

Another clergyman arrived in East Florida in the person of the Reverend John Leadbeater, who received the royal bounty for his passage, May 18th, 1773.²⁵ Though officially licensed to St. Mark's, he ministered instead to the New Smyrna colonists, left unshepherded by the death of Mr. Fraser. Leadbeater remained in the colony until ill health caused him to return home, in 1775.²⁶ Sometime afterwards, he secured the services of a young clergyman, the Reverend John Kennedy, who received the bounty for his journey, January 1st, 1777. Mr. Kennedy's stay was short. He was nominated as Mr. Leadbeater's curate in the parish of St. Mark's; but he probably visited outlying sections and worked at New Smyrna.

A church for English worship had been built in New Smyrna as early as 1771, when Mr. Fraser was in charge. William Gerard DeBrahm, surveyor of lands in East Florida, mentions the existence of an English church and one for the Roman Catholics.²⁷

As noted already, the completion of the tower of St. Peter's Church, St. Augustine, was in the administration of Governor John Moultrie, who succeeded to that office June 7th, 1771. On the 30th of July, 1773, Governor Moultrie wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State:—

"I have entered into the expence of building a Tower to the Church of St Augustine. I thought it necessary and almost of course, as Government had most bountifully given a Clock and Bell to that Church, which had no place of reception for them: and I also thought that your Lordship would not be displeased that I expended a little on the Church, when not only real use was intended, but decency in the appearance of the House of God, for publick worship."²⁸

In the general account of contingent expenses for East Florida, June 25th, 1772 to June 24th, 1773, there is the following:—

"To Cash paid John Hewitt, p^r Contract for building a Spire to the Church of St Peter in St Augustine.... £319 ... To Repairing the Church Yard Gates seting on two Locks hasps & staples.... 18 (shillings)."²⁹

On the 16th of December, 1773, Governor Moultrie transmitted to the Secretary of State "a View of the Steeple of the Church of St Augustine, which will soon be finished." He continued,—

²⁵*Fothergill: list of Emigrant Ministers*, p. 40.

²⁶*Public Record Office: Colonial Office*, 5/555, pp. 147-150.

²⁷*DeBrahm MSS.*, original in Harvard College Library; several times reprinted.

²⁸*Public Record Office: Colonial Office*, 5/553, p. 68.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 120, 123.

"In the execution of this building as well as that of the State house, I have earnestly endeavoured to throw as much Strength, convenience, and ornament into them as could possibly be done for the money expended thereon. If Your Lordship should be of opinion that I have tolerably succeeded in my intentions I shall be happy. I flatter myself that these Edifices will be, not only of real public utility, but an Ornament to this Young Province."³⁰

While the activities of the Church were far from dormant in East Florida, the situation in the sister province was distressing. On the 1st of February, 1768, Lieutenant-Governor Montfort Browne, of West Florida, advised the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, that "on Consideration of the great Decay of Religion among His Majesty's Subjects of this Province," he had been forced to call on a dissenting minister—Mr. Matthew McHenry, a native of Pennsylvania—to act as pastor for that district until a clergyman from England should arrive.³¹

In February, 1768, the Reverend Nathaniel Cotton was collated to Pensacola, to succeed the late Mr. Dawson. He arrived on the scene soon afterwards; and was received with gratification by the inhabitants. There was a memorial promptly addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough by the people of Pensacola, complaining of their lack of a place of public worship and deploring their incapacity to provide a church. The only house of worship in all West Florida, they said, belonged to the Roman Catholics at Mobile.³²

Nathaniel Cotton began his work with energy, and proved an industrious and zealous priest. He secured prayer books and tracts for his members, and tried to remedy the deplorable conditions. He was a good correspondent; and his letters afford an insight into the struggles and demoralisations through which the province was passing. He performed many baptisms as well as burials. On the 3rd of July, 1771, he died in harness. His death left a considerable void; and Governor Peter Chester wrote regarding him with deep feeling.³³

Governor Chester tried to procure a suitable house for administrative and religious purposes, and he investigated the cost. The house which he occupied as his residence had formerly been used for religious services, court sessions, and official headquarters; but its condition was

³⁰Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/554, pp. 1-2. A picture of the elevation of the steeple of St. Peter's Church, enclosed in this letter, is in: Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/554, #29; a photostat of the same is in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division.

³¹Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/585, pp. 81-82.

³²Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/586, pp. 3-7.

³³Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/578, pp. 243-244; *Ibid.*, 5/588, pp. 305-306.

very bad. During the whole British occupation, no structure adequate for public worship was provided.

In April, 1773, a successor for Mr. Cotton was chosen in the Reverend George Chapman; but Mr. Chapman lost his nerve at the gloomy prospect, and declined to go to West Florida. In a letter written August 13th, 1773, he explained his refusal:—

"I am a married Man, and have a young Family. Several Gentlemen who are well acquainted with the Climate of Florida assure me that a Man at my time of Life, and of my Constitution, has not the smallest Chance of living six weeks at Pensacola. This Consideration joined with the dreadful consequent One of leaving a helpless Orphan Family staggers me not a little."³⁴

Mr. Chapman is not to be judged harshly; the province was the most western of all the British provinces, and was also the most exposed. The mortality had been exceedingly high, as is evident from Mr. Cotton's lists of burials. West Florida did not enjoy an enviable reputation.

Almost to the end of the British occupation, there were requests for a resident clergyman for Pensacola; but all was to no avail. Save for the ministrations of the priest at Mobile, there were no Anglican services there. The state of war in America made the spiritual welfare of the colonists a subordinate consideration; and the British government was more concerned with affairs military and political than with the religious needs of a distant and unpromising province. That Governor Peter Chester was sincerely interested in the progress of the Church in West Florida is shown not only by his frequent references to the want of a minister and of a suitable house for public worship, but also to his appropriation of fines for the creation of a church building fund. As soon as he amassed the equivalent of £280, he reported the fact home (January 17th, 1778); he received authority to proceed with his plans for erecting a church.³⁵ But it was too late. The end of West Florida, as a British possession, was in sight.

The Reverend William Gordon, who was sent to Mobile in 1767, was an admirable character, and proved a faithful minister. He remained at his post of duty until the end of the British regime in the province. As no house was provided, he was compelled to rent his own quarters; for this purpose, he received no assistance from the public funds, and his parishioners were too poor to help him.

In 1779, Bernardo de Galvez, Governor of Louisiana, made a

³⁴*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 3/154, p. 42a.*

³⁵*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/594, pp. 267, 270; 669-672.*

dash from New Orleans towards the British strongholds on the Mississippi, and captured them successively before reinforcements could arrive. The garrison of Mobile consisted then of 379 men, besides Mr. Gordon, the chaplain, the commissary, the surgeon's mate, and some servants. On the 2nd of February, 1780, Galvez sailed for Mobile with two thousand men. He landed in the Bay, and found the commander unprepared. He began his assault. The house of the Reverend Mr. Gordon was burned by order of Lieutenant-Governor Durnford, lest it afford shelter to the Spaniards in attacking the fort and throwing up their battery. All efforts to defend the town were futile. The garrison capitulated on the 14th of March; and Mobile passed into the hands of the Spaniards, and became a base of operations against Pensacola. Reinforcements came from Cuba to aid Galvez; and Pensacola surrendered May 8th, 1781. Thus West Florida ceased to be a British province.

After the conquest of West Florida, Mr. Gordon returned to England, and became curate at Malden in Essex.³⁶ At the time of surrender, the Church was represented at Pensacola by Mr. John Firby, the school-master recommended by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Since East Florida remained loyal to the British Crown throughout the American Revolution, there was quite an immigration of the dwellers of the other provinces who had no desire to sever their allegiance to Great Britain yet found residence in the war-swept colonies unbearable. Among the Tory refugees was the Reverend James Seymour, of Augusta, Georgia, who arrived in St. Augustine in 1783, after a distressing experience. A native of Aberdeen and a graduate of Kings College, Aberdeen University, Seymour had been a school-master prior to his ordination. At the outbreak of the war, his strong loyalist sympathies created antagonism; and he found himself deprived of his church and parsonage. In fact, his life was threatened. On his removal to Florida, he found work at St. Augustine and the surrounding districts. Between the 8th of June, 1783, and the 14th of February, 1784, he baptised ninety-four children, married thirty-three couples, and buried forty-seven corpses.³⁷

As a loyal province, East Florida served as a place for holding prisoners of war. After the surrender of Charleston, South Carolina, to the British, certain patriots were sent to St. Augustine. Among the prisoners was the Reverend John Lewis, rector of St. Paul's parish, Colleton, South Carolina—a man ardently attached to the American

³⁶*Audit Office: Loyalist Series: Vol. 99, Dec. 1792-May, 1783.*

³⁷*S. P. G. New Photostats, Florida, in Library of Congress, pp. 302-305.*

cause. Having excited the displeasure of the British, Mr. Lewis was captured by Lord Cornwallis; and on the 27th of August, 1780, he was put on board a prison-ship and transported to Florida. His spirit, however, was not subdued; on his arrival, he preached a sermon which angered Governor Tonym. In consequence, he was confined in the castle—the present Fort Marion—and there he remained until the general exchange of prisoners. He was then sent with the rest of the prisoners to Philadelphia. On his return to his cure, he continued his duties till his death in 1784.³⁸

In the confusion incident to the proximity of war, the province of East Florida became somewhat demoralized. It was hard to secure grants for extraordinary purposes. In January, 1782, Governor Tonym appealed to the General Assembly of the province for help in "Establishing a public Worship and a ministry upon the most Liberal principles of toleration consistent with the excellent constitution of the Church of England." In his speech, he spoke of "the ruinous condition of the Parochial Church in this Town." In speaking to the Commons, January 25th, 1782, he said:—

"The State of the parochial Church is become so ruinous, as to render it unfit for public worship, and religious Ordinances, the discharge of which is so essential for the morals of the people. I shall therefore sett about such necessary repairs, as the small fund in my hands will admit of."³⁹

A solitary province, sparsely inhabited and mostly undeveloped, situated as East Florida was—separated from the loyal British possessions in America by more than a thousand miles of coast-line—was regarded as a precarious and unprofitable asset by Great Britain at the end of the Revolution. About 1783, there were rumours afloat in the province that the mother-country was about to cede the land back to Spain. Untold anxiety was caused among the settlers; many of them had staked their entire fortune on the prospect of a permanent abode in Florida, and had done their best to cultivate the land and build houses. They had no desire to exchange their holdings for estates in Nova Scotia or the Bahamas.

A petition was, therefore, drawn up, in the hopes that the government would consider their case and retain possession of the province. The principal inhabitants of East Florida signed this petition, which bore the date of June 6th, 1783; and the Reverend John Forbes, with a letter of introduction from Governor Tonym, was sent to England to

³⁸*Alexander Garden: Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War in America . . .*, p. 200.

³⁹*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/560, p. 364.*

present the appeal in person. It was too late. On September 3rd, 1783, Great Britain by the Treaty signed at Versailles provided for the cession of East Florida to Spain. Mr. Forbes himself, who had been in bad health for some time, died soon after reaching England. A note in the Public Record Office, of November 10th, 1783, speaks of "y^e Rev^d Mr Forbes lately deceased."⁴⁰

Thus ended the British rule in Florida. Instructions were issued to Governor Tonyn, informing him of the cession. Eighteen months were allowed to the British subjects, in which to leave the province, sell their effects, and take up their abode in other territory. With the coming of the Spaniards, the Church of England dwindled away. The Church of St. Peter's fell into decay; its very name was lost, and when Episcopal services were resumed at St. Augustine some forty years later, the name "Trinity" was used to designate the church. A deed, dated October 6th, 1792, refers to the former church as demolished.⁴¹

II.

After the cession of Florida to Spain, in 1783, the Roman Catholic religion alone was tolerated. In many instances Protestants were constrained to be re-married by the Roman Catholic priest of St. Augustine. The Minorcans who resided in the colony became Roman Catholics, so far as they paid any attention to religion.⁴² The Anglican church at St. Augustine was demolished, as we have seen; and the stones were used in the erection of the present Roman Catholic church, as were also the materials of the British colonial government house and the German Church at Tolomata. "Although the Church was extinct as a visible body, yet some few scattered persons with praiseworthy constancy, adhered to the true faith, and from the circumstance of possessing the Book of Common Prayer, were enabled to worship God in the use of our invaluable Liturgy. In one instance the Morning Service was regularly used by a large family during forty-five years."⁴³

On the 19th of February, 1821, Florida passed under the political control of the United States of America, under the treaty of purchase which had been signed between the King of Spain and the American government, February 22nd, 1819. Thus it became an American territorial possession. Matters forthwith began to assume a more favourable aspect. Soon after the change of flags, which took place in July,

⁴⁰Public Record Office: Colonial Office, #12.

⁴¹East Florida Papers, *Escrituras*, Library of Congress, 1792, p. 559.

⁴²Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 12, 1829 (Philadelphia, 1829), p. 41 (Letter of R. A. Henderson).

⁴³Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society of the P. E. Church: *Periodical Paper*, Nov., 1831, pp. 2-4.

1821, the American residents of St. Augustine "determined on procuring the services of a Protestant clergyman, and agreed that he should be of the Episcopal Church. Application was made, and the Rev. Andrew Fowler went there, under the auspices of the Young Men's Missionary Society of Charleston, S. C."⁴⁴

That organization was under the presidency of Bishop Nathaniel Bowen (1779-1839) of South Carolina. Andrew Fowler wrote an account, published in the *Church Messenger* (Charleston), in which it was shown that he was applied to by that society of young men to go as a missionary to St. Augustine for two months. He sailed from Charleston on the schooner "Volant," and arrived after a voyage of four days.

"On arriving at the quarantine grounds they were boarded by the port physician and were informed that a malignant fever prevailed to a fearful extent and that the citizens were much alarmed at the situation. Although advised by the physician not to go on shore, as he would be in imminent danger of taking the disease and perhaps losing his life, to use his own words: 'Having been often where yellow fever prevailed, it seemed a providential circumstance that I should arrive at that particular crisis and I was resolved at all events to land and trust myself to the Almighty power which I knew was able to protect me in the hour of danger, and to be resigned to what appeared to me to be his will and my duty herein; as well knowing that my ministerial labors could not be more needed than in this season of their great distress and awful affliction.'"⁴⁵

Mr. Fowler officiated in St. Augustine from October 2nd, 1821, till May, 1823, save for an absence of five months.

On the 24th of May, 1823, the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church "resolved that St. Augustine and Pensacola, in the Floridas, be considered missionary stations, with an appropriation of \$400, for the support of missionaries there."⁴⁶ The Reverend Mellish Irving Motte, who had been ordained deacon by Bishop Bowen June 17th, 1823, was appointed by the aforesaid Society; and embarked for St. Augustine the last of June. Soon after his arrival, he wrote:—

"I think it of immense importance to have a church in this place. Idleness and dissipation must reign triumphant,

⁴⁴*Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society of the P. E. Church: Periodical Paper*, Nov., 1831, pp. 2-4. For a sketch of Andrew Fowler (1760-1850), see E. Clowes Charley: *The Reverend Andrew Fowler, in the Historical Magazine of the P. E. Church*, III., pp. 270-279.

⁴⁵J. J. Daniel: *Historical Sketch of the Church in Florida*, 1888, p. 13.

⁴⁶*Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, 1823-1826* (Philadelphia, 1826), p. 10.

when so many circumstances conspire to encourage them. There is great room for improvement, but I suspect but little can be done for some time. I preach in the Court room twice on Sundays, and this is all, except visiting from house to house, that I am allowed to do. When people will not go to Church, what can I do, but silently pray that their hearts may be changed?"

In less than a year, Mr. Motte was so discouraged that, by advice of the Executive Committee, he returned to South Carolina, where he received work.⁴⁷

The Reverend Christopher Edwards Gadsden (1785-1852), who became bishop of South Carolina in 1840, visited St. Augustine in October and November, 1824. Another South Carolina clergyman, the Reverend Edward Phillips (died September 26th, 1855), ministered there from April to June, 1825; during his residence the cornerstone of an intended church was laid. It was afterwards removed.⁴⁸ From August 15th to October 26th, 1825, the Reverend Philip Gadsden, recently ordained deacon by the Bishop of South Carolina, officiated at St. Augustine. When he left, no clergyman was appointed in his place. "From this time, all efforts ceased, and all hope of establishing the Church was given up. . . . The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, however, had not lost sight of this interesting region. The difficulty in procuring persons possessing the various and peculiar qualifications requisite for the laborious work, and willing to undergo all the accumulated distresses, ever ready to overwhelm a faithful missionary, and of getting money to support them, necessarily delayed the execution of the benevolent plans of the Society."⁴⁹ In 1826, Judge Thomas Douglas, a native of Connecticut, moved to St. Augustine as United States District Attorney for East Florida. (In 1845, he was appointed Judge of the Eastern Circuit of the state). Mr. Douglas was active in the building of the church in the town; he served as a lay reader, and was interested in the music. When he removed to Jacksonville in 1844, he transferred his energies to the parish there. Others prominent in the early history of the St. Augustine church were Abraham Dupont, a native of South Carolina and a planter; Judge Joseph Smith, Federal judge; the Honourable Elias B. Gould; the Honourable Benjamin A. Putnam; and Mr. George Gibbs.⁵⁰ On the 10th of April, 1827, a meeting of the members at St. Augustine was held; wardens and vestrymen were elected; and a parochial organization was effected under the name of Trinity Church.

⁴⁷*Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, 1823-1826 (Philadelphia, 1826), p. 15.*

⁴⁸*Fairbanks: The Early Churchmen of Florida, 1889, p. 32.*

⁴⁹*Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society of the P. E. Church: Periodical Paper, Nov., 1831, pp. 2-4.*

⁵⁰*Fairbanks: The Early Churchmen of Florida, 1889, pp. 3-5.*

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, in November, 1826, the newly created Florida seat of government—Tallahassee—was made a missionary station, on the motion of the Reverend Christopher Gadsden. The Reverend Ralph Williston (died 1840, at the age of sixty-five), of the Diocese of Delaware, was appointed missionary by the Society, in May, 1827, with a view to proceeding to Tallahassee. He departed for his mission early in the spring; but having reached Pensacola, he was advised against proceeding to his destination at that season. After passing some weeks in Pensacola, during which time he organized a respectable congregation and started securing subscriptions for building a church, he returned to Philadelphia. About the close of October, Mr. Williston again started for Tallahassee, where he arrived the following month. After an absence of six months, he again returned to Philadelphia, "with the intention, if the Executive Committee should be able to sustain him, to take his family to Florida, and there enter upon the work of a gospel missionary." The Committee felt that there was "no region of country open to them where the services of faithful missionaries are more needed."⁵¹ So Mr. Williston was authorised to proceed with his mission.

As the work in Pensacola preceded that in Tallahassee, it is fitting here to introduce Mr. Williston's account of the beginning of Anglican services there, some fifty years after the foremost town of West Florida had enjoyed the privileges of Episcopal ministrations. In his report, July 10th, 1827, the missionary said:—

"I passed three Sundays in (Pensacola). . . . On the first, I performed divine service, and preached in the old theatre, in which Mr. Hardy, the Methodist preacher, usually officiates; on the other two Sundays, I officiated in the court-house. The whole of the American population, and many of the Catholic, attended divine service on every Sunday; and those Americans who had prayer-books, devoutly joined in the service. All were serious and attentive. Having ascertained the views and wishes of the American population, I had had inserted in the Pensacola paper, an invitation for all interested to meet on a day, with the view of organizing an Episcopal church. On the day appointed, a numerous meeting was had, which resulted in the organization of an Episcopal church, by the name of Christ church, Pensacola, without a dissenting vote. The vestry having been elected at said meeting, held their first meeting the same evening, and appointed two of their number church wardens, together with several committees, one of which was authorized to obtain an act of incorporation for said church,

⁵¹*Proceedings of the Board of Directors, Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 13, 1828, pp. 15-16.*

at the next meeting of the legislative council, and the other to issue subscription papers to raise money for the support of a clergyman, and for building an Episcopal church."

While in Pensacola, Mr. Williston baptized four children and three adults, and performed one marriage.⁵²

Mr. Williston arrived in Tallahassee for the first time, in November 1827; there he remained till the following March, when he returned to Philadelphia. On reaching Tallahassee, he "entered upon his labours with the determination . . . to make the most profitable use of the time remaining to him during the year for which he was engaged to the Society." On becoming acquainted with the families settled there, he "found that a very large majority of them were episcopalians, or such as gave a decided preference to the episcopal church." He passed twelve Sundays in middle Florida, dividing his time between Tallahassee and Wascissa (eighteen miles east of Tallahassee). Between Sundays, he visited from house to house.

"The result of his labours has been, the organization of the parish of St. John's, in Tallahassee, embracing between thirty and forty families of respectability and intelligence. In this parish there were found only two members of the episcopal church who had been communicants, and it was deemed advisable to defer the administration of that holy sacrament to some future time. Your missionary baptized five children, and arrangements were made for a Sunday-school.

"At Wascissa, every arrangement was made for the organization of the parish of St. Philip's, but as some of the families had but recently settled there, and it being a very busy time with them, the formalities of its organization were postponed to a time of more leisure. . . . This congregation embraces fifteen or more families of the greatest respectability. Their intention is to build a church for their accommodation during the summer."

Several towns in middle Florida seemed promising as fields. Gifts of lots for building churches were secured in Magnolia (south of Tallahassee on the St. Mark's river), Rockhaven (southeast of Tallahassee), Aspalaga (south of Chattahoochee on the east side of the Apalachicola river), and Monticello (the present county-seat of Jefferson county).

Mr. Williston decided to visit St. Augustine before his return north. "He accordingly commenced his journey alone, to perform a journey through the wilderness of about two hundred and fifty miles, and after eight days of fatigue and peril he safely arrived there the later part of February (1828), where he remained, and performed divine

⁵²*Proceedings of the Board of Directors, Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 13, 1828, pp. 32-34.*

service and preached four successive Sundays, morning and evening, to large congregations, in the old government house, and diligently employed himself on week days in visiting all, without distinction, Americans, Spaniards, and Minorcans." The prospects impressed him favourably.

"A decidedly large majority of the American population are episcopalians—they have a lot of ground on which to erect a church, situated on a corner of the public square, the very site on which once stood the first church erected in that city, and also have at the command of the vestry as good as \$3000 for the erection of a church thereon. . . . And such is the situation of that city for salubrity of air, that it is, and ever must be, resorted to for health by invalids, and its claim on episcopalians for aid in the erection of their church, is well founded and urgent. There are about fifteen families of episcopalians in that city, besides a considerable number who have their sugar estates in the interior, and who will pass their summers in the city."

Mr. Williston baptized seven children in St. Augustine, and administered the Holy Communion to thirteen persons. He suggested that a missionary be placed there, who might divide his time with the people on the St. John's river, "where there are episcopal families." In fact, that missionary could occasionally visit Alachua and Tampa. "At the latter place, your missionary has been informed that a clergyman of the Episcopal church would obtain a chaplaincy, and a compensation for instructing the Indians. Tampa, and the section of the country in its neighbourhood, will become, at no distant day, a very interesting portion of Florida." 1828 closed with an encouraging outlook: three Episcopal parishes were organised in Florida, and there was the prospect of a fourth. There were many inducements for clergymen there. "Ample provisions are made for the support of schools in every township. . . . Favoured with the regular trade winds from the gulf, there cannot be a finer climate in the world. . . . Irrigated by innumerable springs, fountains, and streams of the purest water, it presents the prospect of uninterrupted health—and a rapidly increasing population."⁵³

There was a treaty stipulation, as suggested by Mr. Williston, by which the United States agreed to furnish \$1000 a year for a teacher at Tampa Bay. The Indians, however, declined to receive a teacher; "giving as one among several reasons, that learning had, as far as their observations extended, made these Indians who received it 'greater rascals,' having enabled them to sign away the lands of the rest without their knowledge or consent. They have also religious scruples

⁵³*Proceedings of the Board of Directors, Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 13, 1828, pp. 34-36.*

about it. They say that Great Spirit intended them for warriors and hunters."⁵⁴

In 1829, the population of Pensacola consisted of about two thousand, of whom more than half were Roman Catholics. "The state of morals is low; and the Lord's day almost wholly disregarded. Shops and stores are open for business, drays traverse the streets, &c. on that day as on others. A majority of the most respectable classes of the American population express, and appear to feel, a deep regret at this state of things." At that time there were twelve communicants of Episcopal Church, eight or ten Methodists, two Presbyterians, and one or two Baptists. The Roman Catholics were without a priest, and were "said to be fast verging towards infidelity. They speak either Creole French or Spanish. The larger proportion of the Protestant population is favourable to the Episcopal Church." For many miles around Pensacola, the country was a wilderness. The soil was barren and sandy.⁵⁵ The Reverend Addison Searle of New York (died 1850), was appointed missionary to Pensacola by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, in August, 1828; he resigned in May, 1829. In reporting his activities, he stated that on January 1st, 1829, he left Buffalo and his people of the congregation of St. Paul's Church; and travelled "with as little delay as possible" to Pensacola, where he arrived February 3rd.

"Since that time I have been diligent in the business of this Missionary station. My reception by the people here has been very satisfactory. Nearly all of the American population have given a decided preference to the services of the Episcopal Church. Their attention on Sundays, has been gratifying to me. My congregations have been more than one hundred persons."

He regretted that it was "not only expedient but necessary for him to resign." The Pensacola vestry sent a letter to the Society, expressing "their thanks for the kind attention paid to their wants in sending to them so able, and efficient, pious and amiable a pastor, as the Rev. Mr. Searle, who during his short residence among them has proved himself well calculated to unite and promote the interests of the church, and the spiritual happiness of its members." They requested another missionary.⁵⁶

⁵⁴*Letter of the Rev. Horatio N. Gray, April 21, 1829, quoting Gov. W. P. Duval.*

⁵⁵*Quarterly Papers of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, July, 1829, p. 47.*

⁵⁶*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 12, 1829 (Philadelphia, 1829), p. 35.*

The Reverend Horatio Nelson Gray, rector of Christ Church, Georgetown, Maryland, was appointed missionary to Tallahassee in October, 1828; and departed shortly afterwards. On his way, he preached "two Sabbaths" in St. Augustine, and performed a marriage. On the 3rd of February, 1829, he wrote:—

"Since my arrival in Middle Florida, I have established regular service the first two Sundays of each month in Tallahassee, and the last two in Jefferson county. All the places for public worship in Tallahassee were so pre-occupied by other denominations (although erected chiefly at the expense of Episcopalians), that we were entirely crowded out, until the trustees had to pass a law opening one of the rooms to Episcopalians.

"Much as I am embarrassed, living now entirely on my own funds, I have offered to buy a lot in Tallahassee, if the Episcopalians will build a church. They promise to do so, and I hope in the course of the year to see two Episcopal churches erected in Florida."

Mr. Gray appealed to his friends for help.

"This country is more in its infancy than you are aware at the north. All are but beginners, and struggling with many privations and difficulties. Most of the settlers are those who have come to improve their fortunes, and are not at all disposed to give any thing at present for the support of religion. They must get themselves 'under way' first. I am therefore told by the people, that they can do nothing for the support of a clergyman for a year or two. This year especially, will be one of heavy expense to the planters, in erecting sugar-houses, mills, &c., as they expect to commence manufacturing next fall. . . . The Society should not expect too much of their missionaries at first. A clergyman is rather endured than welcomed by a population long unused to religious services, and destitute of the christian spirit. Now and then one manifests a little interest, but it is feeble compared with the state of feeling where the services of religion are regularly enjoyed."

Mr. Gray devoted half of his time to Tallahassee; and the other half to Wascissa, in Jefferson county, where he had services in the house of Colonel Gadsden. He found the prospects more encouraging in the latter place than in Tallahassee, where the population was more divided among the different religious bodies. About twenty families attended church at Wascissa, while not more than twelve could be counted on at Tallahassee. On the 5th of August, 1829, Mr. Gray died at the age of twenty-nine. During the fall, St. John's, Tallahassee, was incorporated.⁵⁷

⁵⁷*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 12, 1829, pp. 35-38; Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, Board of Directors, May 11, 1830 (Philadelphia, 1830), p. 17.*

The Reverend Raymond Alphonso Henderson, of Pennsylvania, was appointed missionary for St. Augustine by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, in December, 1828. He arrived the following January; and entered immediately upon his duties. About two-thirds of the non-Roman Catholic population of the town were Episcopalians; and efforts were being made to erect a church. A lot had been secured by Act of Congress to the vestry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Henderson began holding services in the council chamber of the old government house on Sunday mornings; his congregations of about 160 was said to be "the largest and most respectable assemblage of Protestants since the time of the English." He visited the sick, distributed tracts and Bibles, and made contacts with the Minorcans, who were mostly members of the Greek Church. He was confident that the majority of the Minorcans "might be reclaimed from the ignorance with which they are now surrounded, and be gathered into our church," if there were a suitable building erected for worship. "They already view our church as approximating the nearest to their own; and view me with increasing regard, from the circumstances of my being born in England and being single." Henderson felt that the want of a church building was "the chief barrier to the prosperity" of the Church.

On the 15th of April, 1829, Henderson reported a visit to the new town of Jacksonville. It was on that occasion that the first Episcopal services were held there.

"On the 11th (April), I left this city for Jacksonville, on the St. John's river, 41 miles distant. I arrived at 3 o'clock, at the ferry opposite, but owing to the violence of the wind, was detained until the next morning, when I crossed the river, and performed service, and preached morning and afternoon. On Monday morning, performed the burial service in the case of a Mr. James Maxwell, said to be an English naval officer, on half-pay; he was a stranger, and had arrived at the ferry, opposite to Jacksonville, from St. Augustine, on Saturday evening, and died suddenly on Sunday morning.

"I visited on Monday afternoon Judge Bethune's, an Episcopal family, about four miles above Jacksonville. I was invited to extend my visits, but time would not permit, and I returned to the city yesterday in time for the mail. These were the first Episcopal services ever witnessed in that part of the country, and they were well received."⁵⁸

During the summer of 1829, the sum of more than \$1500 was raised by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society for building a

⁵⁸*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 12, 1829 (Philadelphia, 1829), p. 42.*

church at St. Augustine. The congregations of New York City gave \$1200 of that amount.⁵⁹ In February, 1830, a building committee was appointed. By the end of the year, Mr. Henderson was able to report the progress of a hewn stone Gothic building, 50x35 feet, with a tower 43 feet high—designed by Peter Mitchell, Esq.

"It stands . . . upon the spot where stood the first Church erected by Europeans in our country. On this lot was built a second Church edifice, and afterwards the Episcopal Palace, and then the British Colonial Government House, the ruins of the first building being used in the foundation of the last. This latter building was struck by lightning and much injured, was pulled down, and the materials used as before stated. The foundations, however, remained until this time, when they were dug up and used in the present church. The lot is vested by act of Congress in the Episcopal Congregation and is unalienable."⁶⁰

The new St. Augustine church was opened for public worship on the first Sunday in June, 1831. It was out of debt, although there was a need of an organ and of interior fittings. Mr. Henderson assured the Society that "when the Church edifice is completed, the congregation here . . . will be quite able to take care of themselves."⁶¹

The Reverend Benjamin Hutchins, of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, reported to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society from Pensacola, April 20th, 1830, that a very eligible site had been purchased for a church there, that plans for the building had been agreed on, and that cash to the amount of \$1200 had been subscribed. The Executive Committee of the Society voted to appropriate \$400 to that station. Mr. Hutchins went north, and busied himself collecting funds for the churches in Pensacola and Tallahassee. As a result, he raised \$560, all of which was to be applied to the Pensacola project. He then returned to Pensacola (1831); but his field included Tallahassee and nearby points, which were vacant because of the death of Mr. Gray.⁶²

On the 12th of December, 1831, the Reverend Seneca Greene Bragg, who had been ordained only three months before by Bishop William Meade of Virginia, left New York as a missionary of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society to Tallahassee. He arrived

⁵⁹*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 11, 1830 (Philadelphia, 1830), p. 17.*

⁶⁰*Periodical Papers of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society of the P. E. Church, Nov., 1831, p. 4.*

⁶¹*Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, Oct., 1832, with report of the Board of Directors (Philadelphia, 1832), p. 40.*

⁶²*Proceeding of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 10, 11, 1831 (Philadelphia, 1831), p. 21.*

at his destination, January 2nd, 1832. A few weeks later (February 22nd), he reported that the wardens and vestrymen of St. John's parish, "encouraged by the continued liberality of the . . . Society, evinced in sending a Missionary the *third time*, to this distant station, have resolved to make a strenuous and persevering effort to erect a suitable edifice for public worship." A committee had been appointed to secure pledges; they expected to get aid from the north. They had agreed to pay their missionary an equal amount with the Society's stipend—\$250—with the understanding that he give half his time to Tallahassee, leaving him free to devote the remainder to the work in Leon and Jefferson counties.⁶³ Mr. Bragg closed his engagement with the Society in December, 1832, and accepted a call to Georgia.

In 1832, the Reverend Mr. Hutchins was able to inform the Society that "a neat, substantial and commodious brick building has been erected" in Pensacola for divine worship.⁶⁴ The following May, the Executive Committee appropriated \$300 towards the support of a clergyman there.⁶⁵ On July 22nd, 1833, the Reverend Ashbel Steele (died May 26th, 1869, at the age of seventy-six), former rector of St. John's Church, Saybrook, Connecticut, was engaged by the Society as missionary to Pensacola. He arrived November 7th; and was received "with great kindness and hospitality." He proceeded to liquidate the debt on the church property, and secured the undisputed possession of the new edifice. Thirty pews were rented; the rest were generally filled with seamen from the ships of war. There was a Sunday-school at Christ Church, and a branch Sunday-school at the Navy Yard (then located at Warrington). There was a department for the coloured persons also. "At the Navy yard, a room has been fitted up for a chapel by the officers and men stationed there, and Mr. Steele occasionally preaches there on Sunday afternoon to a congregation of from 100 to 150 persons."⁶⁶

The Reverend Mr. Henderson having left St. Augustine, the vestry applied to the Society for a missionary in May, 1833. On October 14th of that year, the Reverend David Brown, former rector of the church at Lockport, New York, was appointed to the post. He entered on his duties November 14th. He found his congregations "generally respectable for numbers, and often as large as can be conveniently accommodated."⁶⁷ During his stay, Trinity Church was

⁶³*Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, with report of the Board of Directors, May 11, 1831 to Oct. 13, 1832 (Philadelphia, 1832), p. 40.*

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶⁵*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, May 14-16, 1833 (Philadelphia, 1833), p. 34.*

⁶⁶*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 13-14, 1834 (Philadelphia, 1834), p. 20.*

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

consecrated, June 5th, 1834, by Bishop Nathaniel Bowen of South Carolina. Bishop Bowen administered confirmation to twenty in the town.⁶⁸

The Reverend Mr. Brown visited Jacksonville during his St. Augustine ministry; and on his first visit to Jacksonville, "a parish was organized in the village by the title of St. John's Church."⁶⁹ John L. Doggett and W. J. Mills were the first wardens. At an adjourned meeting, April 23rd, 1834, a committee was appointed to enquire concerning a suitable lot on which to build a church, and to obtain subscriptions for the same.⁷⁰

In the meantime, a parish had been coming into life at the southern extremity of Florida. The island of Key West "was settled in 1821 by gentlemen from Mobile. It had previously been only the resort of pirates, or of fishermen employed in supplying the market of Havana. The general government almost immediately made it the rendezvous of the squadron engaged in the suppression of piracy, and to the facilities afforded by its harbor, and other natural advantages, Commodore Porter, who had the command of the forces so employed, attributed to a considerable degree, the happy result which attended their exertions. In consequence of the great exposure to which the men were subjected, the want of many necessities, and almost all the comforts of life, and other causes, sickness made its appearance to a great extent among those on the station, and the prejudices which arose against the place, in consequence, materially affected its advancement."⁷¹ "Up to 1831, its inhabitants had neither manifested a desire, nor made an effort to obtain the establishment of a clergyman among them. The observance of the sabbath was unknown, the ordinances of the church generally disregarded, and immorality and vice were daily and openly visible. Cut off from all direct communication with their friends, in the various sections of our country, and subjected to privations which are met with in no other part of it, the inhabitants of this isolated spot seemed to consider themselves beyond the pale of the church, and absolved from the ties of morality and religion. About this period, however, from various causes, but principally from the acquisition of a few intelligent families, an improvement in the morals of the people became apparent; and Mr. W. A. Whitehead, then a resident here, availed himself of the auspicious movement to impress upon all re-

⁶⁸*Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, 1835, and Report of the Board of Directors from May 13, 1834 to Aug. 20, 1835 (Philadelphia, 1835), p. 36.*

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

⁷⁰*Fairbanks: The Early Churchmen of Florida, 1889, p. 33.*

⁷¹*Report of the Rev. Robert Dyce to the Convention of the Diocese of Florida, 1839 (Journal of the Diocese of Florida, 1839).*

flecting men the advantages to be derived from the presence of a clergyman. The result of his efforts was a request from the municipal authorities, that they would adopt immediate measures to carry his recommendation into effect."⁷²

Mr. William Adee Whitehead (1810-1884), of New Jersey, resided in Key West from 1828 to 1838. He was collector of the port of Key West, and mayor of the town. He founded a newspaper there; and it was in that island that he began his meteorological observations, which continued for forty years. Later he edited the archives of the state of New Jersey, and published several historical works. His son, Cortlandt Whitehead, became bishop of Pittsburgh. Key West was fortunate in having such a leader.

On the 5th of March, 1831, Mr. Whitehead called a public meeting, to adopt measures for obtaining the services of a clergyman. Several years before, services had been held occasionally by clergymen visiting the island, according to Fairbanks. As a result of this meeting, a letter was written to Bishop Henry Ustick Onderdonk (1789-1858) of Pennsylvania, asking that a suitable minister be sent. This appeal failed to secure the desired supply. In December, 1832, twenty citizens formed themselves into the "Wardens and Vestrymen of St. Paul's Church, Key West"; and obtained a charter, in 1833, from the territorial legislature. The Reverend Sanson K. Brunot, a deacon of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, was in Key West for his health; and had held services on Christmas day, 1832. It was after those services that the first step was taken towards the formation of a parish, "by those present signing an act of association to form a congregation, to be governed by the rules and canons of our church." Mr. Brunot's services were well attended, and he was generally liked; but his health was so bad that he was only able to officiate three or four times, and left the island in May, 1833, merely living to get home.⁷³

In January, 1834, a letter was received by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society from the wardens and vestrymen of St. Paul's, Key West, representing the inability of the inhabitants of that island to maintain a clergyman unaided. On the 10th of February, the Executive Committee appropriated \$200 for one year. On the 13th of April, the Reverend Alva Bennett, of the Diocese of New York, was appointed missionary there.⁷⁴ But Mr. Bennett was not pleased with the climate; and he returned north after a residence of about five

⁷²*Spirit of Missions*, VIII. (1843), pp. 131-132 (quoting a letter from the wardens and vestrymen).

⁷³Report of the Rev. Robert Dyce to the Convention of the Diocese of Florida, 1839.

⁷⁴Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 13-14, 1834 (Philadelphia, 1834), p. 20.

months. Yet, said the wardens and vestrymen, "the good effects of his residence among us became apparent. . . . The moral tone of the whole population was elevated." At that time, the entire population of Key West, including about forty slaves, did not exceed 350.⁷⁵ There was no place set apart for worship; services were held in the court-house. In 1836, the Reverend Robert Dyce was sent to Key West; he took charge of the church on the 27th of August of that year.

During this time, the Reverend Mr. Steele was carrying on his labours effectively at Pensacola and its vicinity. Every Sunday afternoon, he ministered to the Navy Yard, in addition to his other labours. He superintended the course of instruction in the Pensacola Academy. During the summer of 1833, he set out on a visit to some settlements within twenty miles of Pensacola; on his return, he found several cases of yellow fever in the town. The number of sick increased to two hundred. Forty-seven died—eight of them were members of Christ Church. Steele felt that the effect was "to excite in many cases an attention to the things belonging to their peace."⁷⁶

On April 1st, 1834, the Reverend James Higginson Tyng, of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, was appointed missionary to Tallahassee. On May 16th, he arrived at his parish. Besides officiating in Tallahassee, he conducted services at Quincy, twenty miles away, and at the New Virginia settlement. He resigned shortly afterwards; but he was able to report that the churchmen of Tallahassee had obtained a valuable site for their church, and had raised six thousand dollars towards its erection.⁷⁷ He was succeeded by the Reverend Jonathan Loring Woart, who held his first Tallahassee service in the court-room, February 28th, 1836. "The congregation was small on account of a heavy rain. The next Sabbath I administered the Communion and the congregation was large and attentive. The services from that time were regular and well attended." The subscription paper commenced by the Reverend Mr. Tyng was renewed, and a large sum was raised. At that very time, however, "an Indian war was desolating (that) part of the country and heavy expenses were necessarily incurred by (the) citizens. . . . Alarms were constant. In the dead of night citizens were often aroused and guards were constantly kept around the town. Yet amid all this trouble, a contract was made with Mr. John Lavinus to erect a church of wood in the Grecian order, with a portico of four pillars."⁷⁸

⁷⁵*Spirit of Missions*, VIII. (1843), pp. 131-132.

⁷⁶*Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, 1835, and Report of the Board of Directors from May 13, 1834 to Aug. 20, 1835* (Philadelphia, 1835), p. 36.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁷⁸W. H. Carter: *History of St. John's, Tallahassee* (Florida Council Journal, 1888).

In the fall or winter of 1835, two churches were organised by the Reverend Fitch Waterman Taylor, of the Diocese of Maryland, who was sojourning for a few months in Florida—Christ Church, Apalachicola, and St. Joseph's Church in the prosperous and progressive port of St. Joseph. Mr. Taylor held services in both places. During the legislative council of Florida (January-February, 1837), both churches were incorporated. After Mr. Taylor left, the two churches were left without a minister; but Mr. George Field began lay services in Apalachicola after his arrival (December, 1836).⁷⁹ The Reverend Charles Jones, of the Diocese of New York, arrived there in 1838; and there was "a general and strong disposition . . . to erect a church edifice." The Apalachicola Land Company conveyed to the vestry a lot for that purpose.⁸⁰

In 1837, Pensacola had become able to provide for the support of its own minister. The splendid services of the Reverend Mr. Steele were terminated there, when he removed to Indiana. The Reverend Charles Smith succeeded Mr. Brown at St. Augustine; in 1837, the Reverend Raymond A. Henderson returned to the scene of his former labours after an absence of five years. In May, 1837, St. John's Church, Tallahassee, was opened for divine service. By 1838, Key West could report that its church "continues to increase and flourish. . . . A large portion of the members of this community have in early life received their impressions of religion in worship among denominations of Christians other than those composing the Protestant Episcopal Church, and they are willing for general good to yield their personal predilections and have generously done so for the purpose of procuring a congregation."⁸¹ By that time, \$2130 had been subscribed for the building of a church.

With this background, the Diocese of Florida came into organic being; and the Protestant Episcopal Church in Florida assumed the mature organisation of a diocese seven years before the territory of Florida became a state. It has been necessary to trace the origin and development of the "charter parishes" with some detail; hereafter the narrative will move more rapidly.

III.

The "Primary Convention" of the Church in Florida met at St. John's Church, Tallahassee, January 17th, 1838—"this being the day and place agreed upon by previous correspondence, for a

⁷⁹*Proceedings of the Board of Missions, June 7, 1837 (New York, 1837), p. 61.*

⁸⁰*Journal of Convention, Diocese of Florida, 1838.*

⁸¹*Ibid.*

meeting of the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, living in Florida, to organize themselves into a Diocese, to be in union with the General Convention of said Church." The seven parishes which at that time took steps to form a diocese were Christ Church, Pensacola; Christ Church, Apalachicola; St. John's Church, Tallahassee; St. John's Church, Jacksonville; St. Joseph's Church, St. Joseph; St. Paul's Church, Key West; and Trinity Church, St. Augustine. (The names are listed in the order in which they appear in the Convention Journal). The clergy were the Reverend David Brown, "officiating at Jacksonville;" the Reverend Robert Dyce, rector of St. Paul's, Key West; the Reverend Raymond A. Henderson, rector of Trinity Church, St. Augustine; the Reverend Charles Jones, rector of Christ Church, Apalachicola; the Reverend Joseph H. Saunders, rector of Christ Church, Pensacola; and the Reverend J. Loring Woart, rector of St. John's Church, Tallahassee. All seven churches had lay delegates entitled to seats, with the exception of St. John's, Jacksonville. The lay representatives were:—

Pensacola:—John A. Cameron, Thomas M. Blount, Edwin L. Drake.

Key West:—James Webb.

Apalachicola:—George Field.

St. Joseph:—H. R. Wood.

Tallahassee:—Francis Eppes, Turbutt R. Betton, M. D., Isaac W. Mitchell, M. D., J. Edwin Stewart.

St. Augustine:—Joseph L. Smith, Thomas Douglas.

The only clergymen in attendance were the Reverend Messrs. Dyce, Saunders, and Woart. Evening Prayer was said by Mr. Saunders; the sermon was preached by Mr. Woart; and Mr. Dyce was elected the first chairman. Reports were received from the various churches; and a Committee on the State of the Church reported that six of the seven parishes were supplied with clergymen, that three church edifices had been erected—a brick one at Pensacola, one of stone at St. Augustine, and a wooden church at Tallahassee. Pensacola, Tallahassee, and St. Augustine were receiving no further aid from the General Missionary Society. Families at both Quincy and Marianna were desirous of services. It was decided that Bishop James Hervey Otey (1800-1863), of Tennessee, be invited to perform episcopal offices during his approaching visit to Florida. Resolutions were adopted, whereby the parishes united themselves into a diocese, and proceeded to obtain union with the General Convention. A constitution and rules of order were drawn up.⁸² On September 7th, 1838, at the General Convention which

⁸²*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1838.*

met in Philadelphia, the Committee of the House of Deputies recommended concurrence with the House of Bishops in the resolution, "That the Diocese of Florida be received into union with the General Convention."⁸³

Before the end of the year two disasters had occurred, which caused distress to the churchmen. On the 13th of June, 1838, the "Pulaski" sailed from Savannah, crowded with passengers. The Reverend Mr. Woart and his wife, and several prominent Tallahassee residents, were on board. At 11 P. M., the next day, the boiler exploded; and the vessel parted amidships. The passengers were precipitated into the sea. Mr. Woart and his wife secured themselves to a fragment of the hurricane deck; and on this frail support they were tossed about for several days. One by one all but a few of the passengers perished, overcome by exposure and exhaustion.⁸⁴ The other calamity was the destruction of the flourishing town of St. Joseph by hurricane, a short time after an epidemic of fever had wrought great havoc. There the Church passed out of existence.

In 1839, both St. Luke's, Marianna, and St. Paul's, Quincy, were admitted into union with the Convention. Bishop Jackson Kemper (1789-1870), the first bishop of the Episcopal Church ever to visit West Florida, had been in the territory the year before. On Ash Wednesday, 1838, he visited Pensacola, and consecrated the Church; he confirmed ten persons, and administered the Holy Communion to about thirty persons and preached seven times during his stay in that town. On the 7th of March, 1838, during Bishop Kemper's sojourn, the Church at Marianna was organized. Some twelve or fifteen families were reported; and the prospects seemed encouraging. The Reverend Jehu Jones entered on his duties at Quincy, November 19th, 1838; a Sunday-school was organised, and a subscription was started for building a church. Mr. Dyce stated at the 1839 Convention that the Key West vestry had agreed to erect "a neat and beautiful stone church, fifty feet long by thirty eight." "I am sowing the seed," he said; "and though it be upon a hard rock where there is no depth of earth, I am encouraged by the persuasion that there is a power which can soften that rock." The Reverend David Brown spoke of his struggles in Jacksonville. "The disturbed condition of the country for the last three years, with the demoralising influences of a state of war, have prevented the reasonable hopes for the success of the church." From St. Augustine came dire comments on the effect of the Indian war.

⁸³*Journal of the General Convention, P. E. Church, Philadelphia, 1838, p. 20.*

⁸⁴*History of St. John's Church, Tallahassee, by Carter (Appendix to Florida Council Journal, 1888), p. 10.*

"The evils attendant upon war are seriously felt by our community, and our present sufferings are in no degree mitigated by the prospect of the future, which is gloomy in the extreme."

Some idea of the difficulties which surrounded the infant Diocese may be suggested by the following incident. During the Convention (January 20th, 1839), the rector of St. John's, Tallahassee, (the Reverend Francis P. Lee) baptized a baby, about whom this story was recorded:—

"The circumstances of the murder of Mr. Baker, and a part of his family last summer, about thirty miles east from Tallahassee, by the Indians, as related by a gentleman who visited the place the next morning, are these:—The family consisted of nine persons,—the old man, his wife and two grandchildren . . . and five others. While they were at supper one evening, the Indians came to the house and fired on them through the window, killing Mrs. Baker as she sat at the table. Mr. Baker sprang to the assistance of his wife, and the others at the table made their escape at the opposite door. The next morning when the neighbors visited the place, they found the house burnt, and the body of Mrs. Baker lying scalped a little way off, and the tracks of Mr. Baker, as if running in the direction of a small patch of cane near to where the house stood. Pursuing them, they found his body lying just within the cane, with the two grand children closely grasped, one under each arm, all apparently dead. On a closer examination, it was discovered that the younger boy, about two years old, was alive; but he kept his head buried in the bosom of his dead grand father, and was, with difficulty, extricated from the firm grasp of his arm. . . . A ball had passed entirely through the body of the old man, and through the head of the older boy. . . . The little boy was unhurt, save a slight wound in the arm, by a sharp instrument, which was doubtlessly inflicted as the old man made his escape from the house with the children in his arms. . . . The little boy thus providentially saved, was adopted by the Rev. R. B. Ker of this city, and is the same child baptized."

Numerous instances of murders by the Indians in the last three years might be recorded. Nevertheless the Church was moving forward. \$7500 had been subscribed for a new church at Apalachicola, and the building was in progress on land donated by the Apalachicola Land Company.⁸⁵

On the 20th of September, 1840, the Reverend David Brown, recently appointed missionary at Jacksonville, informed the Board of

⁸⁵*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1839.*

Missions that "the Church in Florida, as well as the country, seems doomed to disaster and destruction. Casting my eyes on the Journal of the Diocese of 1838, I find that death, disease, and removal have swept from his place and duties every clergyman then comprising the clergy of Florida, myself excepted,—one half of the whole number gone to their account!"⁸⁶ Two months later, he wrote:—

"In common with the almost entire population, myself and family have been visited with the protracted sickness. During the time of my own sickness, public services could have been but very partially attended, on account of the general prevailing illness; but I feel it to have been a severe Providence, not to be able to visit the sick and the dying."⁸⁷

March 22nd, 1841, Mr. Brown reported having officiated as his "still impaired health has permitted." He had visited Palatka the first Sunday in January, on invitation; "but a violent relapse of my disease, precluded all possibility of exertion in the blessed cause of the Church in that place."⁸⁸ After nine months (December 22nd, 1841), Mr. Brown informed the Board of Missions that his services at Jacksonville were well attended. He hoped "that the people generally are learning to distinguish more rationally between our apostolic and venerable Church, with her beautiful and seasonable services."

"Yet impoverished, distressed, and desolated as the country is, it may be long ere the services and privileges of our Church can be enjoyed by this community independently of foreign aid. Poor Florida, politically and ecclesiastically, all but despised, must learn to suffer in silence and uncared for by the more prosperous and happy, bury her murdered children in the wilds of the savage haunt, without even the ordinary consolations of religion of Him who came to preach the Gospel to the poor, and to bind up the broken-hearted."⁸⁹

In June, 1840, the Reverend Francis P. Lee of Tallahassee visited the town of Monticello, some twenty miles eastward; he held services four times, administered the Holy Communion to about thirty, and was present at the organization of a church. A young Englishman, Henry Elwell—afterwards ordained—acted as lay reader there. A lot of ground was offered to the vestry; and a subscription for a building was started. By 1841, the Quincy Church was nearly finished. "Our parish labors under inconveniences incidental to all growing towns in

⁸⁶*Spirit of Missions, Vol. VI. (1841), p. 10.*

⁸⁷*Ibid., p. 99.*

⁸⁸*Ibid., p. 168.*

⁸⁹*Spirit of Missions, Vol. VII. (1842), p. 71.*

new countries," said the Reverend J. Glancy Jones; "but our faith is strong, our ground is thus far well-secured, and if nothing more is accomplished, a nucleus is formed around which posterity may rally their energies for the promotion of good, and for the firm establishment of the Church."⁹⁰

It was reported to the Board of Missions, April 17th, 1841, that the Church at Key West had been finished. It was capable of holding two hundred and fifty people. The pews were all sold, except four, which were reserved as free seats. From the beginning it was realized that the building was inadequate in size, "inasmuch as it is the only place of worship on the Key. It is, however, our misfortune rather than our fault; our means not allowing us to undertake a larger building."⁹¹ December 28th, 1841, the Reverend Francis Huger Rutledge, who had taken charge of the work at St. Augustine, notified the Board that the Church there had been completed. "As to temporalities, we have not whereof to boast; the resources of this people being greatly exhausted by the protracted Indian war." A Sunday-school for servants had been established in St. Augustine, and seats accommodating sixty had been provided. "To the colored members of the Episcopal Church in Charleston, S. C., we are chiefly indebted for the amount (\$127.75) by which this arrangement has been made."⁹² When Mr. Rutledge began his ministry at St. Augustine (March, 1840), the congregation was very small, and little apparent interest was given to spiritual concerns. "The church edifice remained unfinished—its interior aspect presenting little the appearance of a temple reared in the honour of Jehovah, and that had once been solemnly consecrated 'the house of prayer.' " But he had secured help from a few liberal friends outside the territory and had enlisted the aid of the ladies.

On the 14th of February, 1841, Bishop Otey of Tennessee consecrated Trinity Church, Apalachicola. The day was cold and windy; "nevertheless," said the Bishop, "the house was pretty nearly filled with an orderly and apparently devout congregation, before whom, with the rites and solemnities prescribed, I consecrated Trinity Church, to the worship of Almighty God, according to the order of the Protestant Episcopal Church." February 18th, he visited Quincy—"a quiet and beautiful village in the interior." On the 21st, he consecrated St. Paul's Church in that town. He held services and confirmations in Tallahassee and Monticello during his stay. The following summer, Apalachicola, "in common with the rest of the Territory," was severely scourged by fever. "Of those who had not left the city, a hundred died."

⁹⁰*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1841.*

⁹¹*Spirit of Missions, Vol. VI. (1841), p. 168.*

⁹²*Spirit of Missions, Vol. VII. (1842), p. 71; Ibid., Appendix Aa., p. xvi.*

Commenting on the disaster, the rector (the Reverend Abram Bloomer Hart) said:—

"This dreadful visitation has, we trust, made considerable impressions on the hearts of those who were spared and survive. God grant that they may prove indelible, and that the remembrance of mercy in the midst of judgment may lead alarm to piety, and reflection to devotion."⁹³

Bishop Christopher Edwards Gadsden, of South Carolina, visited Jacksonville on the Fourth Sunday after Easter, 1842, and confirmed eleven individuals. These were the first confirmations held in that town. After making a trip to St. Augustine, Bishop Gadsden passed through Jacksonville; and on the 24th of April, he laid the conerstone of the first St. John's Church. The structure was soon ready for occupancy, although it was not completed until 1851.⁹⁴

Another bishop who found time to encourage the struggling Church of Florida by his presence was the noble Stephen Elliott of Georgia (1806-1866), who visited the diocese in 1843, and did much to revive the drooping Church. The Convention of 1844 resolved to invite Bishop Elliott to take the Diocese of Florida under his episcopal supervision; and for awhile that earnest, sincere man assumed the responsibility of the struggling new diocese in addition to his own vast and difficult field. By 1844, the Key West congregation were able to report "a fine stone built," with \$800 still due; but their faithful rector, Mr. Dyce, had passed away. The Committee on the State of the Church observed "the destitution of the Church in Middle Florida." Marianna had never been able to procure even the services of a missionary; Quincy had been without a shepherd for three years; Tallahassee had been vacant fifteen months.⁹⁵

When Francis Huger Rutledge became rector of Tallahassee (1845), the parish "was greatly agitated and torn by dissensions. These invaded and spread their baleful influences over the congregation. . . . Most persons by action or sympathy had formed off to one side or the other, and few were indifferent or neutral. . . . Personal piety became less deep and general." The material interests of the parish had suffered by the division. A large debt was due the former rector; but Mr. Rutledge's first effort was towards liquidating that obligation. He then turned to the repair and improvement of the Church.⁹⁶ Beside his local work, he visited Monticello, a settlement in

⁹³*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1842.*

⁹⁴*Spirit of Missions, Vol. VII. (1842), p. 245; Centennial History of St. John's Parish, Jacksonville, 1934, p. 14.*

⁹⁵*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1844.*

⁹⁶*Memorial Sermon preached by the Rev. J. J. Scott, S. T. D., May 8, 1867.*

the vicinity of Marion Cross Roads, and Bell Air (which was the retreat for the summer of several Tallahassee families). On three occasions, his first year, he catechised about sixty negro children on the plantation of Colonel James Gadsden and Octavius H. Gadsden, Esq. "The accuracy with which the several chants were sung and answers returned to the questions proposed on the Church Catechism were truly remarkable, and reflect much credit on the worthy gentleman who has devoted himself to this most humane and useful charity."⁹⁷

Bishop Elliott presided over the diocesan Convention of 1846—held in Tallahassee. In the past year, Florida had been admitted as a state; and the theme of the Bishop's address was the Church's opportunity to keep pace with the movement forward. "It behooves us to be active in our efforts to plant the Church wherever circumstances may seem to open the door for our services. Our fault as a Church has been to enter the field too late, and to permit the population to be absorbed into other Christian bodies, to our entire exclusion." With that instinct for recognising the path of future development which characterised his episcopacy in Georgia, Bishop Elliott suggested planting a missionary near Fort King—the site of Ocala—"who should minister to the settlers as they flow into the rich lands of the county of Alachua." He felt that Cedar Keys, at the mouth of the Suwanee River, was destined "to grow into importance as a commercial depot."

Bishop Elliott's oversight of the Florida Church was timely; just before he accepted the responsibility, the new diocese had reached its nadir. In August, 1845, there were only two clergymen—one a deacon—in active parochial service. Rutledge, who had gone back to his native state, had not taken charge of Tallahassee. A young deacon, John Freeman Young—afterwards Bishop of Florida, had begun his ministry at St. John's, Jacksonville, May 23rd, 1845, just a month after his ordination by the bishop of Rhode Island. During the year 1845, Bishop Gadsden of South Carolina had visited the neighbourhood of Monticello (where members of his family were an active influence in planting the Church), and had baptized 48 children at the Union Meeting House at Marion Cross Roads. Bishop Nicholas Hamner Cobbs of Alabama confirmed thirty-two persons at Pensacola. In 1846, the new church at Key West was completely destroyed by a hurricane. In spite of reverses, and thanks to Doctor Elliott and other friendly bishops, brighter days began to dawn; in December, 1846, there were four priests and two deacons in the field.⁹⁸

But brighter days yielded to the shadows. The Convention of 1847 was scheduled to meet on the 11th of December. Only one clergy-

⁹⁷*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1846.*

⁹⁸*Ibid.*

man answered the roll-call; since no convention could open, according to canon, without the presence of at least two ministers, it was resolved to adjourn from day to day until the provisional bishop or another clergyman might arrive. A week later, it was possible to proceed. Then it was noted that Bishop Elliott was unable to give the necessary oversight to the Diocese, with the heavy demands exacted by his own proper jurisdiction; and he was exonerated from further responsibility, with thanks. The Standing Committee received authority to invite the services of the bishops of contiguous dioceses as often as expedient. It was reported "that the prospects of the Church are little or no better than they were at the last meeting of the Convention." Yet there were undeniable signs of growth. The new rector of St. Paul's, Key West—Charles Coffin Adams—had been away on a leave of absence, during which he collected \$3300 towards rebuilding the church. The Reverend John Jackson Scott, then stationed at Quincy as general missionary, had visited one plantation in Leon County several times and had baptized twenty coloured children; he had ministered at Newport (a health resort five miles from St. Mark's, on the St. Mark's River), and ten times at Mr. Gadsden's chapel near Monticello and at Marion Cross Roads. Mr. Scott reported:—

"The attendance has been good at both places. At the chapel, the congregation is mostly made up of servants. To the praise of their owners, I may state that they have not only set apart this building for religious purposes, but that on each Lord's day the servants are assembled and carefully instructed."

Mr. Scott also visited the Monticello congregation; their church was still unfinished. He held services at the United States Arsenal at Mount Vernon. At Marianna, where he made five visits, he found "an interesting and encouraging field of labor." There a church had been organized—St. Luke's; and Mr. Scott called the vestry together. They agreed, with several gentlemen from Campbellton (sixteen miles north), to contribute \$500 towards the support of a missionary.

The Pensacola rector, Charles Foote Peake, had officiated in Demopolis, Burton Hill, and Mobile, Alabama; he had held services in the nearby Navy Yard, at Milton, and even as far east as Marianna. A new parish, St. Thomas's, Blackwater, had been organized near Pensacola. The city had been visited by an epidemic; and its effects had been to arouse the people to "a moral point of view."

That the clergymen at work in an isolated and sparsely settled field had many discouragements is evinced by the statement of the Reverend Mr. Adams of Key West:—

"Many of our brethren think the days of martyrdom have gone by, and they have to those who live at ease on comfortable salaries. But the American Church at this day and this very hour, has her champions, who, without the eclat, are suffering the pangs, of martyrdom. All along our Southern and Western frontier in sickly districts they yearly languish and expire. They scarcely murmur, but every year we read the names of those who die at their posts."⁹⁹

The Committee on the State of the Church remarked in 1848, on "the acephalous condition of the Diocese, the vast area which it covers, and the wide distance between the Parishes which are regularly supplied with clergymen, being from two to five hundred miles, which severs them from intercourse and consultation with one another, precludes all hope of any great prosperity for the Church in general, until this state of things shall be altered. Florida is among the largest of the Dioceses of the Church in America, and smallest in the number of its clergy."¹⁰⁰

The next diocesan convention was convened December 29th, 1849; but it was adjourned till the 5th of January, when a second clergyman arrived. These two priests (Doctor Scott and Mr. Rutledge) realised that steps must be taken to secure a resident bishop, in order to save the Church in Florida. A committee was, therefore, appointed to solicit contributions from the different parts of the diocese, in addition to a proposed annual assessment; and it was agreed that the bishop should be allowed to officiate as rector of one of the principal churches, so as to assure him a living. The number of communicants of the Church was reported as 264; the contributions had amounted to \$3,156.41 during 1849, but there had been no confirmations during the entire year. Frequent changes had occurred among the clergymen, because of inadequate support and "an erroneous opinion of the unhealthiness of the climate, which induces some to remain here in the winter, and abandon their posts in the summer, when their services are required perhaps more than at any other season. As the effect of this, of eight clergymen canonically connected with the Diocese, at this time, only three are entitled to vote in the primary election for a Bishop, and even this small number is larger than we have sometimes had." (Report of the Committee on the State of the Church.)¹⁰¹

The 13th annual Convention met in Tallahassee, January 8th, 1851. Rutledge of Tallahassee presided. The following clergy were also in attendance:—Doctor Scott (Pensacola), James S. Greene (St. Luke's,

⁹⁹*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1847.*

¹⁰⁰*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1848.*

¹⁰¹*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1850.*

Marianna, and missionary), Benjamin Wright (St. Augustine, and missionary), and William Trebell Saunders (Apalachicola). St. John's, Warrington, was admitted as a parish. Mr. George R. Fairbanks, lay delegate from St. Augustine, reported in behalf of the committee on the fund for an episcopate, that he had visited the congregations of Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and Tallahassee, and had secured subscriptions; he had addressed circular letters to other parishes; and he had found a warm interest in the election of a bishop. On the second day, Thursday, January 9th, Francis Huger Rutledge was unanimously elected first Bishop of Florida. Before the election the members of the Convention "went into silent prayer for a short time. After which, the two orders separated. After an interval, the Rev. Mr. Scott, from the order of the Clergy, announced that they had agreed to nominate and appoint the Rev. Francis Huger Rutledge, D. D., as Bishop of the Diocese of Florida. Whereupon, a balloting was had by the Lay order, which resulted in the unanimous election of Dr. Rutledge." On the following day, Doctor Rutledge accepted. In his letter, he said:—

"Were I influenced by personal considerations alone, with my experience of the difficulties and trials of the Christian Ministry, and in view of the weightier responsibilities attaching to the high and sacred office of a Bishop in the Church of God, I should unhesitatingly decline the appointment, under a sense of my utter insufficiency. But when I reflect how much the Diocese has already suffered, for want of a complete Ecclesiastical organization, and think of the great responsibility I should incur by refusing to occupy the position which, under the providence of God, you have assigned me, I feel constrained (under a conviction of duty to God and to his Church) to accede to your wishes."

There is no doubt of the sincerity of this utterance. The office of bishop in the frontier state of Florida involved little of worldly reward or recognition, but much hard work and anxiety. The parishes were all feeble, and still compelled to struggle against the most adverse circumstances. The total number of communicants did not reach more than 260.¹⁰²

Bishop Rutledge was consecrated in Augusta, Georgia, October 15th, 1851. The bishops of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama laid their hands on his head. In his first episcopal address, January 16th, 1852, he spoke of the obstacle which stood in the Church's path. Florida's wide extent was contrasted with the "very small portion . . . as yet occupied as Missionary ground." He dwelt on "the amount of ignorance, irreligion, error and prejudice to be combated and over-

¹⁰²*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1851.*

come—the scattered condition of the population, and the difficulty of gaining access to many of the settlements.”

“How formidable is the number of those opposed to our peculiar institutions leagued in hostile array against us, obstructing our usefulness, and driving us to personal defence, when we should be engaged against that common enemy.”

He reminded his hearers to have courage. He submitted several practical suggestions for strengthening and extending the Church; and recommended organizing a society for the distribution of books and tracts, assisting the youths to enter the ministry, and employing lay readers to fill the vacant places.

At the 1852 Convention, it was reported that the Church at Key West had been consecrated in January, 1851, by Bishop Gadsden of South Carolina. It was suggested that Ocala be supplied with the ministrations of the Church. St. John's, Jacksonville, under the Reverend William Davis Harlow, was “quite finished.” An organ had been ordered, and bell donated. The rector had visited St. Mary's, Georgia; Ocala, in Marion County, and Pilatka (*sic*), in Putnam County. “At Ocala, an encouraging field is open for the Church, and it is greatly to be hoped that it may soon be supplied with a missionary.” The Reverend Mr. Saunders, of Apalachicola, recounted the wrecking of his Church “by a gale of the most terrific violence, which, in its general ravages, crushed in the doors and windows . . . and greatly damaged the interior. Had the wind have continued in full force a short time longer, the building would, in all likelihood, have been prostrated to the ground.” The Reverend Mr. Adams of Key West said that he had held services once “at Tortugas, an island sixty miles west; and once at Carysford Reef, one hundred miles northeast from Key West.” This statement is of particular interest, because of the military significance of Dry Tortugas, and because it points to services on an isolated spot several miles east of the peninsula of Florida long before the southern mainland attracted any attention.¹⁰³

Bishop Rutledge consecrated St. John's Church, Jacksonville, April 22nd, 1852. On the 13th of May, he visited Key West, and confirmed eighteen. On the 20th of July, canonical notice was received of the formation of a new parish at Ocala, to be known as Grace Church. Another disastrous storm struck Apalachicola, October 9th, and almost completely destroyed the church, which had been just recently repaired at heavy cost. “With a spirit deserving the highest praise, the members design restoring all things again.” The Bishop infused new life

¹⁰³*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1852.*

into the Diocese from the outset of his episcopate. Although he remained rector of St. John's, Tallahassee, he had an assistant in the Reverend Pierre Teller Babbitt.¹⁰⁴

Bishop Rutledge's first visit to Ocala was on the 11th and 12th of May, 1854. He officiated in the Methodist Church three times, administered the Holy Communion, and confirmed four. On the 12th of December, 1853, a congregation had been organized at Palatka, by the Rev. Henry Benjamin Whipple (afterwards Bishop of Minnesota); and services were held in the court-house. Mr. Whipple, who was spending the winter in St. Augustine, made four visits to Palatka; and organized a parish there by the name of St. Mark's. Bishop Rutledge visited Palatka, March 15th, 1854. The missionary at Ocala and vicinity, the Reverend Archibald Falconer Gould, visited Newnansville, Wuincy, and other places; and held a burial at Fort King. During the year, the Reverend David Dubois Flower accepted a call to the rectorship of Christ Church, Pensacola. After ten weeks' service, he died of yellow fever. The congregation of St. Luke's, Marianna, had been building "a neat edifice of stone," capable of seating one hundred and fifty. 1854 was a year of activity—progress and loss; but the Bishop was able to say in December that every parish was provided with stated ministerial services, "while in a temporal point of view the welfare of not one of them, it is believed, has declined."¹⁰⁵

On the 11th of May, 1855, Bishop Rutledge visited the plantation of A. DuPont, Esq., on the Matanzas River, twenty miles from St. Augustine; and confirmed 22 negroes, besides administering the Holy Communion, "in which both the Master and the Slave together devoutly participated." In that year, services were held by Doctor Scott at Milton, in Santa Rosa County, once a month; the court-house was used for worship.¹⁰⁶ About this time, the congregation of St. Philip's, Waukeenah—in Jefferson County, south of Monticello—is mentioned by name. It will be recalled that there was work in this vicinity several years before the Diocese sprang into corporate existence. The progress was slow in Monticello, however; in 1857, the Reverend William Esten Eppes reported that "the Church makes no visible progress in Monticello. . . . The Church building is still incomplete, and perhaps will long remain so." A Sunday-school has been started in a factory about a mile from town.

In the summer of 1857, the Reverend William White Bours, who had been rector of St. John's, Jacksonville, two years, died of yellow fever. He was in the north when the epidemic broke out; and when

¹⁰⁴*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1853.*

¹⁰⁵*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1854.*

¹⁰⁶*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1855.*

news reached him that sickness and death were among his flock, he hurried back. "Night and day found him by the bedside of the sick and dying, administering to them the consolation of religion; and many not of his congregation solicited his visits, and he visited all, without regard to class, denomination, or color." At length he caught the fever, and died in about six days.¹⁰⁷

Another parish was added in 1858—St. Peters, Fernandina. Alligator—now Lake City—was also regarded as a promising field. The Reverend Owen P. Thackara, of St. Augustine, visited both places. On the 8th of November, the cornerstone of the Fernandina Church was laid by Bishop Rutledge, on land donated by the Florida Railroad Company. Besides his services at Monticello and Waukeenah, the Reverend Mr. Eppes conducted services on the Aucilla River "every other Sunday, not as regular as they might be, for want of a certainty as to a place of meeting. In the morning, service and sermon for the whites; in the afternoon and at night for the servants. . . . We have no separate organization here, yet distinct missionary work. Congregations of whites quite small, of servants large and attentive."

"On one plantation, where I held regular services every two weeks, the servants are learning to use heartily the responsive portions of our beautiful service, and are eager for instruction. The fact is, both here and at Waukeenah, there is great work and an open field for a Church minister who should *devote* himself to the *negroes*."

On the 4th of July, 1858, Bishop Rutledge attended a meeting of the Trustees of the University of the South, at Beersheba Springs, Tennessee, "when by unanimous consent the Sewanee Mountain was reaffirmed as the site for the erection of the University buildings." For some time the plans for the institution had been assuming more definite shape.¹⁰⁸

On the 20th of February, 1859, the Bishop visited Lake City, and preached in the Methodist house of worship. He visited Church families there, and confirmed three. On the 4th of March, he consecrated St. Peter's Chapel, at Fernandina.¹⁰⁹ During the following year, a parish was organized at Orange Lake, and Grace Church, Ocala, was revived after a cessation of activities. The Reverend James W. Capen, of western New York, was engaged as a missionary at Gainesville, Orange Lake, and Ocala; on account of ill health, he was soon compelled to resign his mission.

¹⁰⁷*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1857.*

¹⁰⁸*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1858.*

¹⁰⁹*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1860.*

"The Communicants at Orange Lake were so scattered that I could at no time feel confident enough of the attendance, at any appointed time, of a sufficient number to render it proper to give notice of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

St. John's Church, Warrington, was completed in 1860 and ready for consecration. Doctor Scott, who officiated there, said that the Church "stands in the midst of a military encampment, and the people who have usually worshipped in it have for the most part removed up to Pensacola or elsewhere. The church is in an exposed situation; and while its elevated cross attests its true character, in the event of an action with Fort Pickens, it must suffer." At the 1861 Convention, which assembled soon after the beginning of the War Between the States, the Diocese was found to be in the most flourishing state in its history. During the year, there had been 132 baptisms; 25 confirmations; 34 marriages; 64 burials. The communicants numbered 522; there were 76 Sunday-school teachers, and 680 pupils. The resident clergymen numbered twelve. Besides stipends, the contributions reached \$11,-298.92. The organization of the Diocese under the direct supervision of Bishop Rutledge had justified itself in tangible results. The war, alas, was to cripple the Church's progress, and bring about sad reverses.¹¹⁰

No Convention was held in 1862. When the delegates assembled in Tallahassee, December 16th, 1863, the Committee on the State of the Church reported in favour of adopting the Constitution and Canons of the Church in the Confederate States and of so altering the Constitution and Canons of this Church as to conform thereto. Although a distracted condition prevailed, there was considerable activity in the different congregations. On May 17th, 1863, the building at Marianna, erected during the ministry of the Reverend William D. Scull, was consecrated; the Reverend Mr. Saunders had charge of the associated parishes of Apalachicola and Marianna.

Mr. Scull had taken charge of Marianna in 1859. St. Luke's had been vacant for about five years, and had even ceased to exist as a regular congregation. The people were "but imperfectly acquainted with the genius and the distinctive features of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and had little inclination to know them. The Church was regarded as a sect amongst other sects."

"I took charge of St. Luke's Church fully under the impression that I would be permitted to do the Church's work in her own way, and be regularly paid. In these respects, I regret to say, I have been sadly disappointed. There have been

¹¹⁰*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1861.*

times when my family has suffered for the veriest necessities of life. . . . When I took charge of this congregation, its church edifice was unsafe for use. In a short time it had to be abandoned. It was resolved to build a new church. At request, I sent to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, for plans. These were submitted to the building committee, which, for four months, failed to act. A new one was appointed, to which, at its request, my name was added. . . . Four-fifths of the labor of the committee now fell upon my shoulders."

Mr. Scull collected nearly \$4000. He hoped to see "a good parsonage and another church edifice in the country. And all this, in a few years, might have been effected, had the ladies of the place been less officious in church matters, and received as their spiritual guide him who, in the providence of God, as such, had been placed over them."

In resigning from Marianna, Mr. Scull said:—

"I leave, therefore, a Parish which has never retained a clergyman (before the present one,) longer than a year—which, in unqualified terms, cannot speak well of any it had—which has no respect for the vows of a clergyman, the canons of the Church, or the rubrics of the prayer book, when they conflict with their sectarian proclivities—a Parish, which has not morality enough to rise above a subjective religion. I leave, sir, without a solitary regret."

St. John's, Warrington, suffered severely from the war. In the first bombardment, the Church edifice was struck by a shell; the steeple took fire and was entirely consumed. The Church, the furniture, and a large Sunday-school library were destroyed. Doctor Scott gave a pathetic account of the loss.¹¹¹

"The Church was built gradually through a series of years, at considerable expense, in proportion to the size and character of the congregation, and after much toil and anxiety, and when just completed and reported to the Bishop as being ready for consecration, in a brief space all that our cruel enemy left us of this house we had built for the good of man and the glory of our God was a heap of ashes.

"At the evacuation by the Confederate army the congregation also removed, and are now scattered abroad, mostly in South Alabama, where I visit them and minister to them."

While the Confederate army occupied the city of Pensacola, Doctor Scott visited the hospital daily; at the request of General Bragg, he officiated every Sunday afternoon at headquarters. When the city was evacuated, he removed to Montgomery, Alabama; from there he

¹¹¹*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1863.*

kept up pastoral intercourse with a large number of his parishioners, who had established themselves temporarily in Montgomery and the villages on the Alabama and Florida Railroad. The calamities of war fell heavily upon Christ Church. At the evacuation, only two families of the Pensacola congregation remained; and they went over to the Union side. The Church was at first used as barracks for the United States soldiers; afterwards a Union chaplain, in Church orders, held services there. The school-house of the parish and the rector's private residence were both destroyed by fire.

Removed from the immediate scene of conflict, the Reverend Mr. Thackara could report that a lay chapel was being erected near the Aucilla, in the neighbourhood of Monticello. "The servants on four plantations . . . are regularly instructed once a month. The servants on these plantations seem interested in the services, and having been taught the prayers, the creed, the chants, and some of the selections of the psalms, join heartily in the responses. The adults amongst them who have been baptized, were required to know the Creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the responses in the baptismal service."¹¹²

All the coast cities and towns were occupied by the United States forces during the War; and the condition of the parishes was lamentable. The majority of churchmen fled into the interior. The Church at Jacksonville was burned by Federal troops evacuating after the third Federal occupation. Doctor Alfred Walton, medical officer of the Eighth Maine Regiment, referred to the burning of the first St. John's Church in his diary:—

"Sunday, March 29, 1863. Before we were ready to embark the boys began to set fire to the city and soon we had to hurry up for the smoke was getting rather uncomfortable. On my way down (to the wharf) I ran into St. John's Church, and groping through the smoke and fire, I took from the altar a large gilt-bound prayer book with the inscription on the cover, 'St. John's Episcopal Church, Jacksonville.'"¹¹³

In September, 1864, St. Luke's Church, Marianna—recently consecrated—was burned, when that town was captured by the United States troops.

On the 22nd of February, 1866, the Council of the Diocese convened at Tallahassee. (The name "Council" replaced that of "Convention" with the organization of the Church in the Confederate States.) The Diocese, eager for peace and harmony, decided to withdraw from

¹¹²*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1863.*

¹¹³*T. Frederick Davis: History of Jacksonville, Fla., p. 132.*

union with the Church of the Confederacy, and acceded to the Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. An interesting report was submitted by the Reverend Mr. Scull, who, besides teaching and preaching to the white people, had laboured diligently with the negroes.

"The colored man's ignorance is proverbial, so is his fanaticism. There is also in him . . . a disposition to avoid intercourse with the white man. He prefers receiving instruction from men of his own color. Could he, situated as he is, accomplish this, I hesitate not to affirm, his semi-barbarism would be quickly attained. In my judgment, his emancipation came upon him before he was ready for it. Thus, in the providence of God, a great work presents itself to us, and we must grapple with it. . . . I can heartily say that the colored man has my sympathy, that his condition commands it, and that I am anxiously solicitous to make him useful to himself and his employer. To effect this, kind feelings between him and the white man are essentially necessary."¹¹⁴

In July, 1866, Mr. Scull, as missionary to the negroes of Leon and Gadsden counties, visited the north to obtain funds for a school for these people. In Washington, he secured eight hundred dollars. He also received the grant of a building at Midway (in Gadsden County, southeast of Quincy), which had been built as a Confederate hospital. In a short time, he had 117 negro pupils on his roll. He also organized a congregation among them.

The close of the War found the people impoverished, and somewhat dejected, but full of zeal for the Church. Apalachicola reported that the parish had "greatly declined from its former state of prosperity. The effects of the War are severely felt, and the usual trade of the city has been much diminished." The health of the Bishop had been sadly shattered, and he had become well-nigh helpless. The Reverend Mr. Thackara was a guiding spirit in the rebuilding of the Church in the eastern part of the state. Through his self-sacrificing efforts, the parishes of St. Augustine and Jacksonville were reorganised and prepared for new life. Services were resumed at Palatka, Orange Springs, Ocala, and Gainesville, by the Reverend James Hamilton Quinby, who took charge of Trinity Church, St. Augustine, in March, 1866. At Aucilla (fifteen miles east of Monticello), services were held on a plantation at night for the freedmen, "who attended well and manifested decided interest in the responsive portions." Mr. Eppes was the missionary in charge of this work; he visited Madison once a month. Services had been held there at infrequent intervals for several years.

¹¹⁴*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1866.*

On the 6th of November, 1866, Bishop Rutledge passed away. At the diocesan Council, May 7th, 1867, Doctor Scott of Pensacola paid a beautiful tribute to his piety, patience, industry, benevolence, and foresight.

"He aided any designs he recommended, often by advancing money, and always by liberal contributions. Few knew how profuse he was in benefactions to the poor and offerings to the Church, or of the aid he afforded clergy and young men preparing for the sacred ministry. . . . On account of his great modesty and shrinking manner, his intellectual character and ability has been generally under-estimated. His ability, however, was equal to his station in the Church. . . . Many of his parochial sermons, his lectures on the Apostles' Creed, and the only charge he gave his clergy . . . were a manifestation of real power. . . . He spoke under deep conviction of the importance of his message."

At the 1867 Council, the Reverend John Freeman Young was elected Bishop of Florida. Doctor Scott had received a majority of the clerical order; but the laymen had failed to ratify the nomination.¹¹⁵

The new Bishop was born in Pittston, Maine, October 30th, 1820. He studied at Wesleyan University, in Middletown, Connecticut, and at the Virginia Theological Seminary. After his graduation (1845), he served St. John's, Jacksonville, for about two and one-half years. He resigned in 1847; and after serving as a missionary in Texas, Mississippi, and Louisiana, he became assistant minister in Trinity Church, New York. On the 25th of July, 1867, he was consecrated Bishop at Trinity, New York. His consecrators were the venerable John Henry Hopkins of Vermont (1792-1868), the Presiding Bishop of the Church, and the man who had ignored all differences between the northern and southern elements in the first General Convention after the War; John Payne (1815-1874), first missionary Bishop to Africa; Alexander Gregg (1819-1893), first Bishop of Texas; William Henry Odenheimer (1817-1879), third Bishop of New Jersey; Richard Hooker Wilmer (1816-1900), second Bishop of Alabama—the only Bishop consecrated by the Church of the Confederate States; and George David Cummins (1822-1876), who afterwards left the communion and became a founder of the Reformed Episcopal Church.¹¹⁶

Notwithstanding handicaps and discouragements, the years that followed the War Between the States were marked by considerable expansion in the scope of the Church's activities. The reports submitted at the Convention—or rather, Council—at Tallahassee, in February,

¹¹⁵*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1867.*

¹¹⁶*E. L. Pennington: Some Experiences of Bishop Young (Florida Historical Society Quarterly, XV., pp. 35-36).*

1869, showed not only progress towards recovery but a reaching out into unexplored territory. The Reverend Edward McClure was at work as missionary on the St. John's River from Dunn's Lake (Crescent Lake) to the mouth of the stream. The Reverend John Baker was holding services at Mandarin—a new and pleasant field. Milwood had been added to Mr. Quinby's group of missions. The Reverend B. F. Dunkin was using the court-house at Gainesville for services; he was also making visits to Cedar Keys, Walde, and Perry. In all he had found churchmen; in Perry, there were over fifty Sunday-school students, and a lot had been procured for a church. St. Mary's Church, Madison County, was admitted in 1869 as a parish. The western part of the state had suffered considerably. Mr. Saunders gave a forlorn account of conditions in Apalachicola.

"It is a day of adversity with us. The decline of the city, and the removal of a large portion of the population, have weakened the Parish, and rendered the attendance small in comparison with former years. The few who remain are steadfast in the faith, and do what they can to support the Services of the Church."

The Reverend William D. Scull was active in his efforts for the negro.

"Some three years ago I commenced teaching the freedmen, and preaching to them. My school was as prosperous and as successful as it could have been desired. On the school-roll, the last session of it, were the names of 126 pupils. These were taught on the monitorial, or Saneraterian plan, which proved itself quite successful. But the 'Freedman's Commission' of our Church, found itself obliged to withdraw its support; and for the want of adequate means to sustain it, the school was abandoned."

He had organised a regular congregation for the negroes, by the name of St. Paul's Church; twice a month he gave it his services. Once a month, he preached to a white congregation at Midway—a railroad station; one Sunday he reserved for the white people at Lake Jackson.

"The great obstacle in the way of improving, religiously and morally, the colored people, is their own ministry. The mischief which this effects is incalculably great. And when we speak of it as fetish, fanatical, as stupid, exceeding stupidity, and even diabolical, we do it no injustice. But the black man is a human being; and the means which informed the white man may improve him. Education and Christianity alone can better his condition."

The stations along the St. John's River, visited by Mr. McClure between June 1st and July 1st, 1869, were Baten Island (now Batten; south of Fernandina), Fort George, Hibernia, Green Cove Springs, Federal Point, Orange Mills (northeast of Palatka), Dunn's Lake at Hutchinson's, and Dunn's Lake at Ellington. In some of these places, services are held to-day. The interior of Florida was gradually opening to the permanent resident; and groves were being planted and substantial houses built. On the 13th of April, 1869, Bishop Young started in his hired conveyance, with the Reverend Mr. Quinby, on a missionary journey into the central part of the state. Sickness and the difficulty of procuring forage for the mules caused the trip to be abandoned at Lake Harris.¹¹⁷

Goodman's (Madison County) and Magnolia and Pilot's Landing are mentioned in the Journal of 1870, as visited by the Reverend John Hammond. At the same time, the Reverend Mr. McClure had extended his labours into the present vicinity of Sanford; he mentioned holding services at Volusia (south of Lake George) and Mellonville. The Millwood vestry decided in October, 1869, to build a church; they procured the lumber, and had \$525 subscribed. St. John's, Jacksonville, was about to begin "a substantial Church edifice on the site occupied by the one destroyed during the late war." St. John's Academy for Boys had been started in Jacksonville, at the suggestion of Bishop Young; it was opened October 23rd, 1869, with the Reverend Ignatius Koch, D. D., as headmaster, and the rector and the Reverend Mr. Hammond as assistants. Mr. Koch held services in German for the Jacksonville residents of German birth. Another educational venture was St. Mary's Priory, at Fernandina—"a diocesan seminary for young girls and young ladies" under the Bishop's direction. In January, 1870, the defunct parish of St. James, Lake City, was organized under the Reverend Mr. Quinby.¹¹⁸ In December of that year, Bishop Young visited Sumter County at the invitation of a new colony started on Panasoffkee Lake; he found that the services of the Church were read there every Sunday.¹¹⁹

In June, 1871, the Reverend C. William Camp, rector of St. James's, Lake City, commenced holding services at Live Oak. "The Parish is very feeble as yet," he said; "but with judicious nursing I hope will live. The apparent uncertainty of residents of the interior towns . . . operates as a great drawback. . . . The doctors and lawyers seem to be deserting the small towns and flocking *en masse* to Savannah and Jacksonville, leaving only the artisan and farmer, whose pro-

¹¹⁷*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1869.*

¹¹⁸*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1870.*

¹¹⁹*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1871.*

clivities and traditions do not lead them to the Church." July 23rd, Mr. Camp organized St. Barnabas's Church, at Ellaville, near the Suwanee River. Ellaville was thought to be a promising place with the prospect of a large manufacturing population.

On the 6th of December, 1871, Bishop Young left home for a visitation of the upper St. John's, Indian and Halifax rivers. At Palatka, he was joined by the Reverend Francis Rader Holeman, missionary of the St. John's River. On Saturday, the 9th of December, they reached Salt Lake, the landing for Sand Point, three hundred miles from the mouth of the river. After a ride of nine miles, they reached the home of Colonel Titus on Sunday; and held services for nearly fifty in the dining room of the hotel. At the original Sand Point settlement, five miles back from the river, they found a log school-house where a Sunday-school was in operation. (Sand Point appears on Colton's map, 1873, on the Indian River, a few miles north of Titusville). On Monday, the Bishop and Mr. Holeman embarked in a large sail-boat for the settlements on the Mosquite Lagoon and Halifax River. Near the canal, uniting the Halifax and Mosquite, they called on Mr. Dummett, an orange-grower and a churchman. Two days later, they reached New Smyrna, after an arduous trip and much exposure to the cold. At New Smyrna, they found "a really fine hotel," as well as an old churchman. After difficulties and struggles against the tide, in which they nearly capsized, they reached Daytona. The colony there consisted of about sixty families, "some having the culture and education which characterizes the first class of society." At Daytona there was insufficient house-room, and provisions were scarce. Services were held the next day. Then the two clergymen returned by Enterprise and Mellonville.¹²⁰

Bishop Young was unable to attend the Council of 1872, having been detained at Key West a month, awaiting an opportunity to reach the mainland. "On the 27th of January, I succeeded in getting away, and on the 31st reached home." Two days after Christmas, "I started from Quincy to ride fifty-four miles in an open buggy to Marianna, it being the coldest day of the year, and so cold as to freeze at midday. It was, of course, painfully uncomfortable, but by stopping several times to warm at a roadside house, I escaped all ill effects, except rheumatism." At Marianna, he found that "notwithstanding the unparalleled depression in Jackson County, greater a good deal than in other parts of the state, the full amount pledged has been paid to the minister, and the diocesan assessment for the last year, and a part of the deficiency of the year before, has been met." On the 24th of February, 1873, the

¹²⁰*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1872.*

Bishop left for a visitation of Tampa and Manatee. From Cedar Keys, he took a steamer for Tampa. There he remained a week, and confirmed eleven. On the 4th of March, "after spending most of the day in unsuccessful efforts to procure a boat to convey us to Manatee, we chartered one just arrived from Alafia." Two days afterwards, he reached Manatee; and there had three confirmations. Returning by way of Tampa, he took "the tedious stage route by way of Brooksville, Sumterville"—just north of the present Bushnell—"and Ocala." The same year, there was reported that "at Sanford, near Mellonville, on Lake Monroe, a beautiful Church, after designs by Upjohn, is nearly ready for consecration, by the side of which is to be erected a rectory." The Bishop also stated that "on Indian River, an earnest churchman, who is a graduate of Oxford University, England, and an educator of many years' experience, has opened a boarding and day school, and by my authority, is acting as Lay-reader, and doing what he can for the establishment of our services in that benighted region."¹²¹

By 1874, the Church at Gainesville was so far completed as to be used for worship. The Ocala churchmen had some \$500 in sight for a building. The Reverend Mr. Holeman was visiting the different stations on the St. John's River; and regular lay services had been established at Sand Point, Orlando, Orange Mills, Federal Point, and Fort Read. At Mellonville (or Sanford), the beautiful little Church of the Holy Cross had been completed; Bishop Young consecrated it on Low Sunday, 1873. Mr. Francis Eppes was acting as lay reader and catechist at Orlando, and was making "an impression for good which will be felt long after he has passed away." Regular lay services were established at Apopka, the Lodge, and Lake Jesup. Once a month, some thirty or forty people attended a service at Lake Maitland. Gradually the Church was securing a foothold in the interior of the state.

For five years, the Bishop had subsidised St. Mary's Priory at Fernandina. It was at length discovered to be a painful and difficult undertaking; and, being moved to Jacksonville, it was turned over to the Diocese. The Bishop remarked:—

"Had I, had any of us, foreseen such an unprecedented series of disastrous years as the last five have been, we could not have entertained the thought of embarking in any such enterprise. And could I have foreseen the difficulties, perplexities, expenditures and interference with the performance of other important official duties, which I was taking upon myself in assuming this work, I should have shrunk from the undertaking as a burden too great for me to bear. But having once taken it upon me I felt that I had assumed a responsible trust."

¹²¹*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1873.*

Some of the difficulties and delays in travelling, when most of the state was unreached by railroad or any sort of highway and when there were few ports of entry and the most irregular passenger service, may be gathered from the Bishop's accounts.

"On the 2d of May (1873) I left home for the visitation of St. Paul's Church, Key West, and arrived there on the 6th. . . . It was my plan, on setting out on this visitation, to take the same steamer on which I went, on her return from Havana, and continue on her to New-Orleans, in order to reach Pensacola for the visitation of West Florida. But on reaching Key West I learned that all vessels from New-Orleans were to be quarantined at Havana twenty days, on account of cholera in New-Orleans. As imperative engagements for the immediate future rendered it impossible for me to remain there twenty days and then proceed to West Florida, I determined to take the steamer from New York for New Orleans, but on making inquiry as to the time when the next steamer was expected, I was informed it would be two or three weeks, as the vessel then about due had met with an accident, and would miss her trip. I had been twice detained for a month on this island, and once besides for a fortnight, notwithstanding every possible effort to get away; and as the yellow fever was now becoming epidemic in Havanna, and might break out any day in Key West, and cause the quarantine of any vessel on which I might depart thence at any port of the United States, I determined to leave for the main land by the first chance that offered, and accordingly sailed on the steamer Clyde for New-York, where I arrived on the 18th of May. Thence I proceeded to Fernandina, where I arrived of the 29th of May, just in time for the examinations and closing exercises of the school year at the Priory."¹²²

In 1875, Bishop Young made another visit to Orange County; there the Episcopal Church was scarcely known. Mr. Francis Eppes was an active exponent of the Church in Orlando; and a prominent Church family had recently located at Lake Maitland. But the Bishop "found the Church people in Orange County exceedingly scattered; no settlement being large enough to form a nucleus or available standpoint for Church work. The devoted and earnest missionary—Rev. Lyman Phelps—who had just then entered upon his duties in great feebleness of body, comprehended fully . . . the nature of his work." From the constant accessions to the population of the county, the Bishop hoped that there would be formed the germs of several parishes within its borders.

Two weeks later, the Bishop travelled from Ocala to Gainesville—

¹²²*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1874.*

some thirty-eight miles. But travelling was no easy task in those days, in central Florida.

"From the heaviness of the roads and some unexpected detentions on the way, including the fording of the head of Paine's Prairie after dark, which was then a large lake, I found myself, at ten o'clock at night, some seven miles from Gainesville as I supposed; and as I knew not where I was to stop or could find shelter or feed for my horse, I determined to camp by the roadside for the night. Everything was comfortable and pleasant till about four o'clock in the morning, when a peal of thunder overhead, and portentous clouds, admonished me to protect myself as best I could from a coming storm. I did my best, and with all haste; but for two hours, in a buggy without a top, I was pelted by a most merciless rain, and so completely drenched, that not until the middle of the afternoon was it possible for me, with the help of a good fire, to get into a proper condition to go out of doors. I had to be excused, of course, to the congregation in the morning, but at night I preached and confirmed two."

Travelling from the western part of the state eastward was by indirect route. A northern detour was necessary. Bishop Young, the same year, returned from Pensacola to Marianna "by way of Montgomery and Eufaula, Alabama. On reaching the latter place I took a buggy, for which I had made arrangements previously, and in two days accomplished the distance of one hundred miles from Eufaula to Marianna, with the mercury standing at nearly or quite a hundred in the shade." Arriving in Marianna, Bishop Young confirmed twelve. He then proceeded on his way, as follows:—

"Immediately after dinner I started for Ocheese, twenty-five miles distant, in order to take at midnight the steamer going down from Bainbridge to Apalachicola. The driver of the conveyance proved not to know the road, . . . and kept on down the river till after one o'clock in the morning, over an unfrequented road, frequently obstructed by large trees blown down across it, with the night so intensely dark that no progress would have been practicable without the light of torches, which we renewed as often as was necessary."

The 3rd of December, the Bishop embarked at Cedar Keys; but did not reach Key West till the 10th, having been a week in making the passage. "At Punta Rasa, where we were obliged to seek shelter from a terrible gale and furious sea, and where we lay for two days and nights, I found the gentleman in charge of the telegraph cable to be a Churchman, and his wife a communicant."

Tampa was supplied by the beginning of 1876, by the Reverend Harrison Dodge, a deacon. It was coupled as a missionary station with Manatee. Bishop Young felt at that time that the portion of the Diocese most demanding attention was the eastern coast, south of St. Augustine.

"Since my visit to the Indian and Halifax Rivers, population has been gradually though slowly coming in; and it is important to establish the Church wherever a sufficient nucleus can be found. The two difficulties . . . have been, first, the fact that the settlers have been generally isolated and distant from each other, extending along a line of river margin for some hundreds of miles, and secondly, the want of any established system of communication and travel between the different settlements, except such as could be provided by private arrangement and at great cost."¹²³

The visit which Bishop Young paid to Key West in December, 1875, is of considerable significance in the history of Anglican missions, since it provided the main stimulus to a movement which has grown to notable dimensions—the work of the Episcopal Church among the Cubans. It was on this trip that the Bishop was keenly aroused to the opportunity and challenge provided by the Cuban natives. A large number had immigrated to Florida, and there were prospects of more. Soon after his arrival in Key West, the mayor of the city, Mr. Cespedes, and several other representative Cubans, waited upon him, and informed him of the very general desire on the part of their people, now numbering over five thousand—for the establishment of the Church there in the Spanish language. Accordingly, the Bishop provided a public meeting of the Cubans, at St. Paul's Church, on the evening of December 20th. After duly organizing the group, he addressed the same about an hour. Mr. Cespedes translated his remarks, period by period; then Mr. Baez (afterwards ordained to the ministry by Bishop Young) and Mayor Cespedes "spoke earnestly and eloquently." A resolution was next unanimously passed, embodying the desire for the Church's services. Before leaving Key West, the Bishop ordered two hundred Spanish prayer books sent to Doctor Steele, the rector of St. Paul's, and appointed Mr. Baez lay reader for the Cubans.

Mr. Baez evidently found his duties congenial, for on the Fifth Sunday in Lent, 1877, he was ordained deacon at St. Paul's Church. On the following Wednesday, Bishop Young held a visitation of the Cuban missions; the services were conducted throughout in Spanish, and the canticles sung well. A notable beginning had been made among a people, "who with very few exceptions, never at all attended upon the

¹²³*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1876.*

worship of God, or observed His Holy Day, except as the day for card-playing, cock-fighting, theatricals, and such-like follies and sins." Twenty-nine were presented by Mr. Baez, besides thirty-five who had been confirmed in the Church of Rome. The new parish of St. Peter's, only a little over a year old, was in complete working-order; and Key West, with its two parishes and its flourishing Cuban mission, was one of the most promising fields in the Diocese.

It was at this time that Bishop Young began preparations for a coloured mission, for the benefit of a thousand unchurched negro Cuban residents of Key West. Mr. Baez promised to take hold, provided the assurance of support for himself and family were forthcoming; and \$1000 was recommended as a minimum stipend "in that very expensive town."¹²⁴

In 1878, the Bishop reported to the Council that Mr. Baez's Cuban work had held its own beyond expectation. There was a desire for a church independent of the other Key West parishes, though realisation of that hope seemed quite distant. A mission had been organized among the negro Cubans, and a lay reader named Perez officiated regularly for their benefit. The Reverend Doctor J. L. Steele, rector of St. Paul's, Key West, died October 13th, 1878. Bishop Young, in commenting on his life, remarked that "it was mainly owing to his interest in the Cubans and his well directed efforts in their behalf that the work for their benefit was inaugurated." Mr. Baez, who owed his preparation largely to Dr. Steele, was ordained a priest the Second Sunday in Lent, 1879. The new Cuban mission, of which he had charge, was known as St. John's; and that year, seventy-two families were reported and a total of three hundred souls. Still the Cubans were without a church of their own; they used St. Paul's after the conclusion of the regular morning service.

In 1877, the Woman's Auxiliary Society for Missions in the Diocese of Florida made their first annual report. They had begun in May, 1876, in accordance with a plan of organization furnished by the Bishop and Standing Committee; in one year, out of twenty-one parishes and mission stations, there were twelve Auxiliary branches. In Tampa, the work of the Church was almost entirely in the hands of the ladies; there they assumed a debt for the clergyman's board; they opened a Sunday-school with seventeen pupils, and solicited books and leaflets. At that time, the Tampa mission numbered only five families and seventeen members.

The Marion County missionary, the Reverend Robert Lansberger, held services in 1877 in six different places—Ocala, Millwood, Cabbage

¹²⁴*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1877.*

Hammock, Spring Hill, Silver Springs, and Spencer Place. His field embraced a territory fifty miles long and twenty-five miles wide. The St. John's River missionary, the Reverend C. W. Knauff, visited Hibernia, Fort George Island, Mulberry Grove, and Federal Point. In both Hibernia and Fort George Island, preparations were being made for building churches. In Jacksonville, under the Reverend Reginald Heber Weller, local missions had been started in LaVilla, Brooklyn, and East Jacksonville. Out of these grew in later years three Jacksonville churches—St. Stephen's, LaVilla; the Church of the Good Shepherd; and St. Andrew's Church.

A committee directed to report upon the condition of the negro freedmen, and to consider and propose some plan for the advancement of their spiritual culture, submitted an interesting statement. Previous to the emancipation, they said, the Church in the southern dioceses looked upon the coloured race as committed to her special care—"the subjects of her patient teaching and earnest prayer. . . . Colored baptisms, confirmations, admission of communicants, catechizing and services held, new churches built for the better accommodation of the negroes, and offerings . . . made up a large portion of the parochial report for every Southern parish priest. In those days the standing of a clergyman in a Southern diocese, the estimation in which he was held, depended largely upon his faithful labor and success amongst the colored people." While no change in the political or social condition of the negro, arising out of his emancipation, can release the Church from her duty, still the teaching of certain unscrupulous men "that the interests of the freedmen were no longer the same with those of their former owners, led to an estrangement, and then to an angry and bitter opposition." This estrangement threatens "to impair, if not to destroy, their prosperity and well-being in the entire South." Separate and distinct Church organizations have been formed; this has widened the distance between the two races. There were not sufficient negroes of education at the time of emancipation to take the place of the former white teachers and ministers; and there has been a consequent decline in religious knowledge and orderly living. Yet "these sons of Africa, by their faithful and productive labor in the long years preceding the emancipation, and more especially by their fidelity in watching over our homes and their helpless inmates in the past days of our trials and dangers, have earned a claim upon the good will and the heart of every Southern man—a claim not easily or soon discharged."

The committee felt that "they can propose no better and no wiser plan this"—

"that we take up the work for the colored race just where

the Church, in the day of her great trial and destitution, when her churches were closed and her ministers were scattered, laid it down; and, taking it up, prosecute it with the old and earnest spirit and with the use of the old means that have never failed to secure success, and because they were the means devised by apostolic men, and sanctioned and made effective by the ever blessed Spirit.

"Let our Bishop . . . regard the colored race as a portion of the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made him the overseer, give them a large place in his heart and in his prayers and plans for work. Let every Presbyter in our Diocese do that which every Southern presbyter did in past years . . . look upon the freedmen within the bounds of his parish as a part of his cure of souls; visit their sick and pray by their bedsides; urge them to bring their little ones to holy baptism; interest himself in their labors, and sympathize with them in their trials. Let vestries do that which vestries did before the emancipation—make provision of place for them in the churches and invite them to come and worship with us as in past years, . . . listen with them to the same instructions at the mouth of God's ministers, and kneel with them before the altar of Him who died for all men. Let the colored children be gathered in our Sunday-schools, and be as faithfully catechised as in the old parish and plantation churches.

"The Committee would suggest, when it is practicable, the employment of the colored, together with white teachers, in the Sunday-schools, as this course, while it would give rise to kindly feelings and good will, would likewise give to these colored teachers all the advantages of the drill and routine of instruction of Sunday-schools. . . .

"Let the Clergy offer and hold themselves in readiness to bury their dead, opening their churches for the funeral services, and seeing to it that nothing is wanting in the Church's solemn and impressive offices for the dead. . . .

"Your Committee would further suggest to the Clergy of the Diocese that were they, as opportunity offered, to cultivate the acquaintance of the teachers and ministers of the colored congregations in their neighborhoods, talking with them concerning their work, its difficulties or its success, offering to lend them such books as would give them plain and definite instruction in the great doctrines of the Christian faith, and sermons written for plain and rural congregations, that they would do a good work."

It was resolved that in future meetings of the Council, one session be devoted to the consideration of the work of the Church amongst the freedmen; and that the clergy state the condition of the freedmen in their parochial reports. The Reverend Owen P. Thackara was chairman of the committee which presented this broad and far-sighted document.¹²⁵

¹²⁵*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1877.*

New work was noted at the Council of 1878. St. John's Parish, Jacksonville, had a school for girls—Bradford Institute—rendered possible by the generosity of Mrs. Mary S. Bradford, of Cleveland, Ohio. On the Second Sunday after Epiphany, 1878, Bishop Young visited Leesburg for the first time in nine years. He found quite a number of Church people. The union church there was entirely filled; the Presbyterian minister and elders acted as choir conductors. The congregation "was of such an excellent class of people, so appreciative, and of such admirable tone and spirit," said the Bishop, "that I enjoyed the services in an unusual degree." On the 28th of February, he visited Orange Park—"a growing settlement twelve miles above Jacksonville." There General Hamilton acted as lay reader; and the Bishop called on every household of the settlement, and discovered that the majority of the settlers were church-people. A lot was secured for a church. On Quinquagesima, 1878, St. Mark's Church, Palatka, was consecrated. The First Sunday in Lent, Bishop Young visited San Manteo. Services were held in the union meeting-house. After evening prayer, the Bishop and the Reverend C. S. Williams met in the house of the only family of churchmen in the neighbourhood, and organized a mission. On March 17th, services were conducted at Green Cove Springs, in the only house of worship in the town. The people of Magnolia—a mile and a half away—attended; people were gathered from hotels. The Bishop spent a week there. Over \$1000 was subscribed; and a site for a church was donated by Mr. Thaddeus Davids, and Bishop Young contracted for the erection of a church. "This is a most gratifying result of one week's effort in a place where we have not a single Church-family among the permanent residents."

The Monday after Low Sunday found the Bishop in Key West. On that day, he visited the newly organized Cuban mission—St. John's—composed of Cubans who worshipped in St. Paul's Church. The services were conducted throughout in Spanish. After a sermon by Mr. Baez, twelve were confirmed and thirteen received "upon the formal renunciation of the errors of the Church at Rome." Baez had also organized a mission among the coloured Cubans, of whom there were some fifteen hundred. The coloured congregation at Key West—St. Peter's—was under the care of Mr. Green, a layman, "who chorally conducts the services for them, reading sermons or exhorting them, and teaching a daily Church School. He enters heartily upon his self-denying work, and has a strong hold upon the hearts of the people generally. As the congregation consists entirely of laboring people, the very foremost of whom told me, when I was there, that they could not get a day's work in a month, they are naturally, in all respects, thoroughly depressed. Many are leaving for Nassau, whence they came, hoping

to better themselves, while nearly as many are coming from there, seeking the same end here."

By this time, St. John's, Jacksonville, had erected two chapels—St. Stephen's in LaVilla, and St. Philip's in East Jacksonville. A mission had been organized as early as 1870 in East Jacksonville, in a small room of an unoccupied cottage; Mr. Charles S. Snowden, who was subsequently ordained to the ministry, assisted in organizing this school. In April, 1877, a lot was purchased for a chapel; and soon afterwards a chapel was erected, largely from the offerings of the children of the parish Sunday-school. At the instance of Mr. Snowden, the mission was called St. Philip's; but when, under the direction of Bishop Young, a church was built for the coloured people, at the Bishop's request the name of St. Philip's was given to that new mission, and the old mission of St. Philip's became known as St. Andrew's.¹²⁶

In 1878, the Reverend Charles A. Gilbert of Gainesville was also officiating at Cedar Keys, Rosewood, Bronson, Waldo, Santa Fe Lake, and Millwood. The Reverend Charles S. Williams had raised \$75 towards the erection of a church at Crescent City—the Holy Comforter; he was conducting monthly services at Como and Welaka. Gradually the Reverend Lyman Phelps was securing a foothold for the Church in the lower St. John's River section and the orange lands of central Florida. Three Sundays a month, he held services at Sanford; a Sunday-school was organized at Fort Reid; he had eight communicants at Orlando; he had visited Fort Mason, about forty miles from Sanford, and started a Sunday-school. On the afternoon of the fifth Sunday in March, 1878, Mr. Phelps drove ten miles to Zellwood; and "held a service in a pole school-house, which had sides, a temporary floor, and rafters, and ribs for the shingle. The service was hearty, and the whole tone was one of a people whose soul was in the work of the Master." When he returned four Sundays later, he found "a churchly little building, with roof on and a temporary floor; and in it we celebrated the Holy Communion in the morning." There were baptisms. "No people have I met," he said, "who deserve greater credit for their faithful and successful efforts to have a Church than these. Not five dollars in money has been spent. It has been a labor of love thus far." Said Mr. Phelps:—

"I am spread over so much territory; can do so little; can only be a consolation to some few already in the fold. Everywhere I listen to a tale of woe. With a large share of the upwards of eighty communicants I meet during the year, the question where bread is to come from is a stern reality."

¹²⁶The information regarding the Jacksonville missions may be found in the *Centennial of St. John's Parish, Jacksonville, Florida, 1934*, pp. 22-23 (data compiled by Herbert Lamson).

The Reverend W. H. Carter, D. D., LL. D., Ph. D., of the Halifax and Indian River mission, reported in 1878 that he held services at New Britain, Holly Hill, Daytona, Port Orange and Titusville . . . "as regularly as the weather would permit, for the rivers being the high-ways, were not always in condition for travelling. The whole section is opened to the Church, with little or no opposition, but there is need of everything. There is no surplice, except those belonging to the Missionaries. At one place a box is covered with a piece of sand-fly netting, old and discolored. At another, the plain table has a newspaper upon it. At another an ink-stained desk is used. While at still another, a bureau served as an altar. There is neither a Bible nor Prayer Book for Chancel Service in the whole jurisdiction, nor in fact anything which the Church can call her own, except a few small Prayer Books, which are much the worse for—not wear, unfortunately—but for sundry drippings, the result of accidents by the river." The associate missionary in this field, the Reverend H. B. S. Martin, had held services, "when not prevented by sickness and stress of weather, at all points on the Halifax River, viz.: at New Britain, Holly Hill, Daytona and Port Orange;" and had found the same well attended, although the people were unable to participate because of the lack of paged Prayer books. He had visited Titusville and Harveyville on the Indian River, and also New Smyrna; at all three places, there were good congregations.¹²⁷

On May 26th, 1878, Bishop Young visited Port Orange; preached and celebrated the Holy Communion. The same day, he confirmed three at Daytona. The Sunday after Ascension, he officiated on the Indian River, at the house of a Mr. Cleveland, a former vestryman of Trinity Church, New Orleans. Settlers from both sides of the river attended. Doctor Carter assisted. "This was the first visit ever made by a Church clergyman to that region and we were welcomed heartily." The Bishop preached and celebrated the Holy Communion; in the afternoon, services were conducted on the opposite side of the river. "The congregation were seated in the shade of a fine grove of forest trees, closely surrounding the house, the piazza being occupied as chancel and pulpit by Dr. Carter, who preached, and myself." On the 3rd of June, Bishop Young and Doctor Carter proceeded down the river to Eau Gallie, to visit some church families there, "who were literally as sheep in the wilderness without a shepherd." The next day, services were held in the house of their hosts; an infant was baptized, and the Holy Communion celebrated. Doctor Carter preached. On June 5th, said the Bishop, "though sick with fever, I met by appointment in the neighborhood in which we officiated on Sunday, those who

¹²⁷*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1878.*

could sing, to drill them in the chants, the novelty of the thing attracting a number, besides, who could not sing."

"I was exceedingly pleased on the whole with my visit to Indian River. I was surprised to find so orderly, moral, intelligent, and respectable a population, though almost entirely destitute of religious service and instruction."

Doctor Carter had ten places under his care. "This involves a sail of nearly two hundred miles in an open boat." There were only about twenty-five communicants in the whole mission. Two lay readers were under his direction; and services were held every Sunday at Daytona and Rockledge.¹²⁸

On the Third Sunday after Trinity, 1879, Bishop Young consecrated the Church of the Holy Cross, Marguerita. "The work at this station is peculiar and of singular interest, as demonstrating that the humblest and most unlettered of our rural population can be brought under the influence and training of the Church by judicious, loving and persevering effort." On the 19th of January, 1880, he laid the cornerstone of St. John's Church, Tallahassee; the former church had been burned, at great loss to the people. The Bishop visited Baldwin, February 19th; and confirmed nine. The lay reader in charge was Reginald Heber Weller, the son of the rector of St. John's, Jacksonville—afterwards Bishop of Fond du Lac. Young Mr. Weller taught school in that little town; and the religious prospect was not promising. "The community in and about Baldwin," said Bishop Young, "has been so hard to produce any impression upon for good, that no religious efforts, by whatever denomination put forth, had hitherto produced the slightest results." But the future Bishop was making progress.

"A few months' residence in this community, by Mr. Weller, who was not only faithful in lay reading, but diligent and judicious in personal conversations while visiting from house to house, and in the distribution of books and tracts, giving instruction concerning the Church, has . . . leavened the whole community with a love for the Church."

On the 3rd of April, 1880, Bishop Young laid the foundation of All Saints' Church, Fairbanks. Churches were being built in other places in the vicinity—Santa Fe, Waldo, and Lawty. The advance in that section was due to the Reverend Owen P. Thackara, who, though living as far distant as Fernandina, visited the people there for several years. In other parts of the Diocese, the work went on apace. The

¹²⁸*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1879.*

Reverend W. H. Carter of Tallahassee was holding week-day services at Lloyds; and the Reverend Charles F. Rodefer of Monticello went every month to the village of Greenville, where there were about a dozen members. "I doubt whether any Diocese in our Church of no more strength than ours has been of late doing so much," said Bishop Young in 1880. "Eleven churches built or in progress in one year, in so small a Diocese as ours, is a record of which we may not only be not ashamed, but is a cause for devout thankfulness to God."¹²⁰

Although authorised to incorporate by the Act of February 10th, 1838, the Diocese had never effected its incorporation. It was recognised that the want of a legal corporate existence might involve the Diocese in difficulties; so, on the 5th of May, 1881, "the Bishop, Clergy and Laity of the several Parishes comprising the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Florida, assembled in Council," organised as a body corporate, under the authority of the original Act and its amendment of February 1st, 1881. By-laws were adopted.

On the 8th of November, 1880, the Reverend Charles A. Gilbert, of St. Paul's, Key West, died at his post of yellow fever. Only two years and a few days had intervened between his death and that of his predecessor, the Reverend Doctor Steele, who died in the same rec-tory of the same disease. The Bishop felt that Mr. Gilbert's resistance had been impaired by excessive work; he had served both St. Paul's and St. Peter's parishes, and had the oversight of the schools.

On June 24th, 1880, the Bishop had laid the cornerstone of the Church at Orange Park. By the Convention of 1881, it was completed—"churchly and pleasing in style, and a very satisfactory success for a building of its cost." The cyclone of August 29th, 1880, destroyed the Church at Sanford; but steps were promptly taken to re-build the same. In the meantime, a Church was built at Ocala; the town showed prospects of growth. On the Second Sunday after Easter, Bishop Young went with the Reverend Mr. Weller of St. John's, Jacksonville, and the Reverend Mr. Bicknell, his assistant, to Brooklyn—then a suburb of Jacksonville—"to open and bless the new chapel just completed there, which is unusually satisfactory and pleasant for its cost. The services were very spirited and impressive, the sermon was by myself, and the attendance indicated more than ordinary interest, as quite a number stood out of doors during the entire services, being unable to obtain even standing room within the building." (Thus the future Church of the Good Shepherd had a great impetus forward). Bishop Young was pleased at the progress made throughout the Diocese. In 1870, he remarked, there was only one communicant for every 322 of the population, while in 1880 the ratio was one to every 172, show-

¹²⁰*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1880.*

ing a gain of the Church of 150 per cent. In 1881, St. Mary's, Cedar Creek, appeared on the list, with nineteen families; and a very encouraging report was given by the Reverend C. W. Ward, missionary in charge of Maitland and adjacent points.

"Since taking charge of the work assigned to me January 9, 1881, I have officiated publicly on forty occasions, thirteen times in Orlando, and the remaining times in Maitland. My customs having been to officiate twice a Sunday. . . . The attendance has averaged, in Orlando, about 45, and in Maitland, about 70. . . . The work of building the new church which Bishop Whipple has so generously contributed for, has been undertaken by Mr. McGuire, a builder from the north, who is now engaged upon the church at Sanford, and expects to begin ours within a few days, as I am informed. The cost of this proposed building, when completed, will be \$1,800. . . . In this connection I would also mention that I have been offered a large church lot in Orlando for the erection of a building for church services, and have promised the people that I would lay the matter before you. We are in sad need of a church in Orlando, all the more because of the filthy and obnoxious character of the Court House, in which we are compelled at present to worship. At the same time our number are so small there, and owing to the many religious divisions and sects which peculiarly drain that portion of my Mission; the means for church building are likewise so small that a Mission Church could hardly be built there except by means of considerable aid from abroad. . . . There are under my jurisdiction at present, in all, 31 communicants, that is, in Maitland 15, in Orlando 13, in Altamente, 2. This does not include some scattering communicants in the remote outlying regions such as Zellwood and Apopka. I have also, in all, about 71 families, resident attendants upon the services."¹³⁰

After the Council, the Bishop left for Orlando to confer with the people about building a church, and securing a proper site for the same. On December 30th, 1881, he met the few Church people of that town and neighbourhood; and made certain proposals of aid, provided they did their utmost to help themselves. Their response exceeded his most sanguine expectation. "The finest site in or about the town was decided upon and secured, it being the crown of a ridge, descending to a lake, within two blocks of the Court-house, and therefore very central and accessible, and containing one acre of land." The contract for the building was made.

The mission at Mandarin was showing progress. A few years before, there was scarcely an Episcopalian in the whole community; but the Reverend C. M. Sturges had united that whole intelligent com-

¹³⁰*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1881.*

munity, and secured over \$500 towards the erection of a church. Professor Calvin Ellis Stowe and his wife, Harriet Beecher, were residing there during the winter months.

Twice a month, the Reverend W. H. Carter held services at the state lunatic asylum. Under his care, the work at Madison had made such progress that a contract was signed for the building of a church. The activities at Key West had greatly subsided since the last rector's death; but under the Reverend Charles F. D. Lyne there was a renewal of life. Trinity Church, Apalachicola, had declined and become quite disorganized. The parish was in charge of a deacon; and there had been no confirmations or communions in a year. 1882 found the Church and rectory at Sanford still unfinished; the Reverend S. B. Carpenter was missionary in charge. The Reverend H. W. Stuart-Martin was able to report twelve families of Church people at Daytona. He said:—

"I took charge middle of June, 1881; have maintained services at Daytona, Port Orange and Ormond, three services each Sunday, except one Sunday a month from August to November, 1881, and in March and April, 1882, when three services have been held in DeLand and Orange City each Sunday. In DeLand there are 18 Communicants, some of whom reside there only during the winter. In Orange City there are seven. At Ormond and Port Orange, I have not felt discouraged, but by the Divine blessing and by faithful work, it is hoped to recover the two years that were lost by the relinquishment of Missionary work there. Everything is to be hoped for at Daytona. There is no advance in one way, but we think that foundations are being substantially laid. A Chapel is expected to be built and ready for use by the end of the year. God grant it! A good lot has been secured, the gift of a Churchman, and three hundred and fifty dollars are in hand for the building of the Chapel. . . . At DeLand, a provisional offer has been made of an acre of land with eighty orange trees on it set out two years ago."

Emmanuel Church, Welake, with eight families, had paid off all indebtedness. The Church was consecrated, June 3rd, 1881. St. Paul's mission, Federal Point, was planning the building of a church. At Longwood, a church was completed under the care of the Reverend Lyman Phelps of Sanford. The Reverend C. S. Williams visited every month the "station central to Como, Pomona and Crystal Lake;" and the people of the vicinity, not members of the Church, were contributing to a building fund. St. Margaret's Church, Hibernia, though not yet organized either as a parish or as a mission, could boast "a very neat and pretty Chapel, occupying a charming site on the St. John's River," built as a memorial to the late Mrs. Margaret Fleming. For awhile,

the Reverend Washington B. Erban held services in the parlor of Mr. F. A. Fleming's house.

The Reverend Albion Williamson Knight, later the first Bishop of Cuba, was ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Young, in St. John's Church, Jacksonville, on November 27th, 1881. He was soon placed in charge of St. Mary's Church, Green Cove Springs, where he organized a Sunday-school. The mission on Lake Eustis, started by the Reverend Mr. Phelps, afforded a more promising field, however; and Mr. Knight was placed in charge.¹⁸¹

In 1883, there was announced "the establishment of the Diocesan Missionary newspaper—*The Florida Churchman*. This, for which we have worked, prayed and waited so many years is at last given to us, better and stronger than we had ever planned." The Bishop had high hopes of the effect of this periodical in stimulating missionary interest, since the contributions had fallen off during the past year. Yet there had been considerable progress in some places. St. Mark's, Palatka, had erected "a fine building on the church grounds for a Parochial School, at a cost of about one thousand dollars, which is entirely paid for. . . . This was a matter of great importance, not only to the parish, but to the whole community outside the Romish Church, which has hitherto had no competition in the education of the children and youths of Palatka." On the Second Sunday in Lent, after his visitation to Fort George, the Bishop went with Mr. Rand in a sail-boat six miles to the ship-yard, called Fulton; and confirmed nine negroes. "These were the first fruits of a labor of love inaugurated at this place two years ago by a devoted layman, Mr. Kjelgaard, acting under the authority of my license, as Lay Reader, and in the expense incurred of nearly a thousand dollars in the erection of a suitable chapel for this work, acting as the almoner of R. F. Cutting, Esq., of New York." The Church at Fort George was finished; and it was under the care of the Reverend Mr. Rand, of the Church in Haverhill, Massachusetts, who was wintering in Florida. On the Fourth Sunday in Lent, 1883, the Bishop visited the Church of the Good Shepherd, at Maitland, and confirmed fifteen. "This beautiful Church, erected at his own expense by the Bishop of Minnesota"—Doctor Henry Benjamin Whipple—"as a memorial to his son, and which had been recently completed, was crowded to overflowing, notwithstanding both the Roman Catholic and Methodist Bishops, by a singular coincidence, were officiating at the same hour, at their respective places of worship. This was gratifying as showing the hold which the Church has already gained upon the major part of that intelligent and interesting community." A selection from Handel's "Mes-

¹⁸¹*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1882.*

siah" was rendered. On March 17th, Bishop Whipple consecrated the Church. Cedar Keys was showing "healthy growth and increase in strength." The rector there, the Reverend Mr. Wilson, had established regular services at Rosewood and Bronson. On the 1st of May, Bishop Young was prevented from consecrating St. Mary's Church, Madison, by the torrents of rain which prevented attendance at the service; the consecration was postponed till the First Sunday after Trinity. St. Luke's, Marianna, had become so weak that services had been discontinued for several years; they were resumed in April, 1883. On St. Mark's day (April 25th), 1883, the cornerstone of St. Mary's, Daytona, was laid; the Reverend H. B. Stuart-Martin was missionary in charge. Sixteen families of churchmen were reported at St. Thomas's Church, Eustis; five families at the mission at Manatee River; and a total of seven persons at the Thonotosassa mission. At St. Andrew's mission, Tampa, there were in 1883 six families—a total of twenty-five persons. A serious impediment in the way of the Church's work at Tampa was the difficulty of finding a room for worship; at last, lumber was being sent to the mill. The Reverend Robert B. Welseley took charge of St. Barnabas's mission, at DeLand, September 24th, 1882. For services he had only a school-house, which he had to share with the Presbyterians and Campbellites. By 1883, the building fund amounted to \$700. Mr. Welseley also held services at St. Barnabas's mission, Orange City, where there were four families. "With the promised supply of a horse and wagon of my own," he said, "I shall be able to devote more time to this Mission; also begin services at Spring Garden, a point six miles north of DeLand, where a few Church families are settled." The Reverend S. B. Carpenter had twelve families at St. James's mission, Enterprise; he held his services in the hotel, but grounds had been given for a church. There were six families in 1883 in the Zellwood and Apopka mission. At the Yalaha mission, in Sumter county, there were ten families—thirty-six persons. By 1883 regular services were begun in Winter Park. "It is evident that a strong church community is soon to spring up there. The projectors of the town are predisposed towards the church, and have offered us every encouragement."¹⁸²

In 1884, St. Luke's, Orlando, was admitted into union with the Council; at the same time two other parishes fulfilled the canonical requirements and were received:—St. Mary's, Daytona, and the Church of Our Saviour, Mandarin. Since the last Council, the Church at Cedar Keys was removed to another lot, with the addition of a commodious chancel and robing room. At Rosewood, a plain building had

¹⁸²*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1883.*

been secured and fitted up for worship. At Tampa, a very neat and commodious Church, with seating capacity for about two hundred, had been completed. At Orlando, the Church had been finished "with exceptionally fine windows," and "with beautiful church furniture made in New York, with a fine bell of over five hundred pounds weight;" it was already proving too small for the rapidly increasing population of the town, and contracts were signed for enlarging it. At Maitland, the windows and furniture (including a fine eagle lectern) had been introduced. At Sanford, the Church had been completed; and through the efforts of the Reverend Mr. Carter, rector of Holy Cross, a fine lot had been secured at Enterprise, and a Church built and paid for at a cost of nearly two thousand dollars. The DeLand Church was ready for Easter services (1884); while at Eustis, the Church had been occupied for some months. A Church for the coloured people had been built at Palatka, and paid for. The Church at Hibernia was at last finished. At Mandarin, "a very beautiful church has been completed and paid for, at a cost of some \$2,300." Beautiful windows placed in the Church at Fort George rendered that edifice complete. The Church for the coloured people at Jacksonville—St. Philip's—had received its windows; the principal subject in the east-end triplet being the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch by St. Philip. The Church in East Jacksonville—formerly St. Philip's—had become St. Andrew's; and it had been "tastefully finished in the interior." On the lower St. John's River, a new Church for the coloured had been erected some six miles from Fulton, by Mr. R. F. Cutting of New York. The year 1883-1884 had certainly been one of constructive activity.

During the session of the General Convention, in 1883, a petition with 258 signatures had been presented to Bishop Young from Matanzas, Cuba, praying him to take measures for establishing permanently the services of the Church in that city. In pursuance of that object, he repaired to New York, and attended the meeting of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions. "But so very disappointing has been the results of the large appropriation to the work of the Church in Mexico, that the Committee thought it more prudent to defer action as to any further grants of funds for Missionary work amongst the Spanish American race, till after my contemplated visit to Cuba . . . and the report of the actual state of things as I might find them here."

Accordingly, on the 22nd of February, 1884, Bishop Young left home for a visitation of the missions in the Island of Cuba. On the evening of Thursday, February 28th, he officiated at Matanzas. After Evening Prayer in Spanish, and a sermon by the Reverend Mr. Baez, he confirmed a class of forty-one. On the Fifth Sunday in Lent, at

Matanzas, he celebrated the Holy Eucharist, and confirmed twenty more. He preached to the congregation; Mr. Baez translated his remarks. On March 3rd, he left for Havana, where he officiated twice, and confirmed fifty-five. He called on the Governor-General of Cuba, meeting with a most polite and cordial reception.¹³³

On reporting the results of his observations, he was surprised and disappointed at the refusal of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions to entertain the subject. Undaunted, however, Bishop Young remained in New York, awaiting the meeting of the Board of Managers; and utilized his time in sending a circular to every bishop and clergyman of the Church in the United States, and to many of the laymen; he also busied himself in revising the Spanish version of the Book of Common Prayer. At length, he secured a temporary appropriation for the Cuban work, at the rate of \$3000 a year.

On the Sunday after Christmas, 1884, the Bishop consecrated St. George's Church, Fort George Island. The following Sunday, he consecrated St. James's, Lake City. Visitations were made to Marguerita, Glen St. Mary, Darbyville, and Panasoffkee. Then the Bishop started for his second visitation to Cuba. On the 24th of February, 1885, he reached Havana. There he held services at the several missions, and confirmed 325. Returning from Cuba, he sailed up the west coast of Florida; and officiated at Palma Sola, at the mouth of the Manatee River. There he was agreeably surprised to find assembled in the school-house a congregation of remarkable intelligence and culture. He visited Church families on both sides of the Manatee River. Formerly there were only three or four Church families within a radius of ten miles; it had become a promising field.

A few days afterwards, while at Sanford, the Bishop became acquainted with a lady from Connecticut, Mrs. Lucy A. Boardman, who desired to contribute the means for the erection of two churches on the Indian River. In April, accompanied by the Reverend Mr. Carpenter, the Bishop started on a tour of observation, to decide upon the sites. Mrs. Boardman had mentioned Melbourne; and there the two clergymen arrived, April 17th. Mr. Carpenter spent the following day in exploring the neighbourhood, visiting the people, and collecting all information possible. He learned that the money was in hand for the purchase of four acres as a site for the church and rectory, and that there were some twenty communicants within a radius of three or four miles. On Sunday, April 19th, services were held in the hotel at Melbourne; "and, although the day was rainy and the wind so high and boisterous that one could not sail in an open boat without becoming

¹³³*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1884.*

thoroughly drenched with sea-water, a congregation of some fifty persons assembled, who proved to be nearly all Church people." After service and dinner, they "sailed for the residence of Mrs. Stevens, a Church lady from Detroit, who has recently settled there;" the following day, they left for Rockledge.¹³⁴

Bishop Young had for some time found it increasingly difficult to endure the uncertainties and privations of rural work. But although his later reports tell of enforced rests and periods of recuperation, he fought a brave fight to the end, which came on the 15th of November, 1885. As one of the pioneers of the Church in Florida, he will be gratefully remembered; and his successor, Bishop Weed, summed up his efforts in his first address to the Council of the Diocese of Florida (May 4th, 1887):—

"It is scarcely nine months since I began my work, so that I have done hardly more than learn how great were the labors and trials of my predecessor. . . . I feel I know him well, for his works speak, *though he sleepeth*. As I go over the Diocese, and behold his works, I feel he has written his own epitaph in the hearts of the people. Laborious and wise; gifted and accomplished; faithful and devoted.

"Wherever I have been with the convenience of railroads and steamboats, he went on foot, or by horse. When I take into account the labours which his extensive travels involved, it seems strange that his physical forces were not exhausted years ago. At Cocoa he went into the woods axe in hand, and prepared a site for the church. From Key West he passed over to Cuba, and established twelve congregations on that wretched island. His missionary labours were enormous. But his labours were not confined to mission work. Throughout the Diocese I have learned how his care extended to the minutest details. His taste is to be seen everywhere. I venture to say there is not a Diocese in the American Church, with as many temples of worship, constructed with the same reference to the true principles of architecture. He was not only a wise and educated master-builder, however; his foresight was markedly shown in the selection of *places* for the erection of church buildings. When you consider what a wilderness Florida was when he was consecrated, and when you consider, also, how the Church has kept ahead of immigration, and how the population has followed and clustered round the places which he selected, as centres of worship, we must pay him the homage due the wise statesman. Not satisfied with planting and establishing the Church in the most remote districts, he did not rest till he had given the people a love of true Church music, and had instructed them in the proper rendering of the ritual."¹³⁵

¹³⁴Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1885.

¹³⁵Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1887.

At the diocesan Council of 1886, St. Andrew's, East Jacksonville, was admitted as a parish. The handsome new building, on the corner of Florida Avenue and East Duval Street, became a memorial to the late Bishop Young. The General Missionary reported that services were being held at Melrose, as well as at Waldo and Fairbanks and Santa Fe. "The Rector of Trinity, Gainesville, dashes out into the regions round about, dropping in upon Arredondo, Micanopy, etc. At Oak Lawn, on Orange Lake, an excellent church has been built, which is convenient to Lockbie, Boardman, etc. . . . Still farther on the Florida Southern Railway, Conant and vicinity have been receiving the attention of the strong and energetic rector of Grace, Ocala; and so also have Belle View, on the Florida Railway and Navigation Company, and even Panasoffkee. The latter has been organized into a Mission and proposes to build." A Mission has been organized at Brooksville, Hernando County. Winter Park has just been organized into a mission; Kissimmee and Bartow have been calling for services. St. James's, Leesburg, has also become a mission; so has the Church of the Redeemer, Panasoffkee. On May 25th, 1886, St. Mary's, Green Cove Springs, was added to the group of organized missions. The Church in Key West was destroyed by fire; and this loss was reported to the Council. The Diocese was asked to give every encouragement and assistance to the work in that important city. The Dean of the Middle Convocation urged the need of missionary services in several localities. "Some miles below Lloyd's is Waukenah, in which I believe there was once a parish. Two counties, Liberty and Waukulla, know nothing about the Church except by hearsay, or from reminiscences of former times; for I think no Church clergyman has visited either of them since the War."

In 1886, the Church was gaining ground in the territory recently opened. The Reverend Mr. Carpenter was holding services at Rockledge, Tropic, Eau Gallie, and Melbourne, on the Indian River; and at Maitland, Winter Park, and Bartow on the South Florida Railway. St. Andrew's, Tampa, with thirty-six communicants, valued its property at \$2,300. Ormond had a church-lot and seven communicants; Port Orange, a building fund of \$400 and ten communicants. St. Edward's mission, Lane Park—mentioned two years before—reported ten communicants. It had been organised as a mission; lots had been donated, and \$400 subscribed for the building. A lot had been given for a church at Macclenny, Baker County, where there were fourteen communicants. At the Yalaha mission, there were fifteen communicants. "Yalaha is eighteen miles from Lane Park by road, though only three by water." St. John's Church, Balmoral, is mentioned in the 1886 Journal. The Chapel of the Good Shepherd, Brooklyn, in the present Jacksonville,

was making rapid strides. In the past year, a recess chancel and a vestry room had been added. The Church had been plastered and painted, and ornaments had been introduced.¹³⁶

In 1886, the Reverend Edwin Gardner Weed was elected as Bishop Young's successor. He was born in Savannah, Georgia, July 23rd, 1847. While still a student at the University of Georgia, he enlisted in the Confederate Army. At the close of the War, he went to Europe and entered the University of Berlin. After graduating there, he attended the General Theological Sminary in New York City. He was rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Augusta, Georgia, when he was called to become head of the Diocese of Florida. On the 11th of August, 1886, he was consecrated bishop in St. John's Church, Jacksonville, by Bishop Charles Todd Quintard of Tennessee, Bishop William Bell White Howe of South Carolina, Bishop George Franklin Seymour of Springfield, Bishop Robert Woodward Barnwell Elliott of West Texas, and Bishop John Nicholas Galleher of Louisiana. In his first address to the Council of his Diocese, he paid a beautiful tribute to his noble predecessor; and declared that he aspired to follow in his footsteps. "Our Diocese is pre-eminently a missionary Diocese. . . . The Church is constantly finding her way into new fields, and making new advances into the *terra incognita* of the southern portion of the State." Within a year of his consecration, churches were erected at Melrose, Huntington, Winter Park, Thonotosassa, Cocoa, and Melbourne. Dunedin and Clear Water Harbour combined in a subscription of \$300 toward the stipend of a missionary.¹³⁷

At the Council of 1888, it was observed that "many material signs of progress have marked the year. New churches have been built in ten mission fields, viz: Clear Water Harbor, Thonotosassa, Tallahassee, Cocoa, Melbourne, Pablo Beach, Fruit Cove, Lane Park, Huntington, and South Jacksonville. New missions have been regularly organized in Pinellas, Fort Meade, Clear Water Harbor, Port Orange, Ormond, Carrabelle, and Courtney. The Bishop has pushed his way into new settlements, where the Church services have never before been heard, and in all of these places he has been gladly received."

The Trustees of Auburndale College held two meetings during the past twelve months; and determined to call their college, to be situated at Auburndale, "The Florida Diocesan College." The assets amounted to \$16,482.09, of which less than half was in hand; but it was moved that a contract be let for the building. The St. James' Academy and Boarding School for girls, "after a desperate struggle for three and one-half years in Lake City, and three years in Macclenny," at last

¹³⁶Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1886.

¹³⁷Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1887.

became an institution of the Diocese. In 1881, it had begun its work with a corps of four teachers; in 1888, it had a corps of nine teachers, and nine boarding and sixty day pupils.

On August 14th, 1887, Bishop Weed made the opening address at St. Paul's-by-the-Sea, Pablo Beach. On the 27th of September, he received the application of Christ Church, Fort Meade, to be organized into a mission. On the 27th of November, 1887, he consecrated St. Mary's Church, Daytona. On the 19th of January, 1888, he consecrated St. John's, Tallahassee. Ten days later (January 29th), he consecrated St. Paul's, Key West. On the 14th of March, he visited St. James's, Clear Water Harbor.

The 1888 Council marked the semi-centennial of the Diocese; and it was appropriately held in Tallahassee. Colonel James Jaquelin Daniel presented an historical sketch of the Church in Florida; the Reverend W. H. Carter, D. D., submitted the history of St. John's Church, Tallahassee; and Major George R. Fairbanks gave a paper on "the Early Churchmen of Florida." These splendid contributions were published as an appendix to the 1888 Journal. In fifty years, the Diocese had grown to such an extent that there were congregations in about eighty places.¹³⁸

In 1888, there was a terrible epidemic of yellow fever. Not only was the mortality high, but the State suffered in reputation; it was difficult to obtain men to serve in Florida. In spite of this handicap, and through contributions sent from outside, Bishop Weed was able to keep the missionaries paid in full. "I think our thanks are due the Church in the United States, North, East, South and West, for their generous contributions to our needs. Over \$19,000 were sent through me to the yellow fever sufferers. . . . Beside I have received very generous donations to expend on the Diocese at large."

On May 13th, 1888, Bishop Weed visited Sarasota; he preached and confirmed one. On the 14th, he confirmed three at Bradentown. On the 15th, he celebrated the Holy Communion and confirmed one at Fogartyville; that evening, he preached at Palma Sola. He was at Dunedin on the 17th; and confirmed one. On the 21st of June, he held a service at Carrabelle and preached. The Church at Marianna was consecrated by him on January 8th, 1889.

The Reverend Mr. Carpenter reported "much earnestness and activity" in the Indian River country, but a cry for more men and temporal aid to sustain them. "At Titusville a beautiful church has been completed, and funds obtained for the erection of a comfortable rectory. A well ordered Sunday School has been established, and the young

¹³⁸*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1888.*

men of the town are manifesting a most gratifying interest in the work of the Church. . . . About \$400 has been already pledged towards maintenance of a settled clergyman, and by uniting this mission with Rockledge and Cocoa below, a permanent clergyman could be comfortably supported." His account is very important, as the scene of his labours has developed into one of the most widely known areas in the United States.

"Opposite Titusville, on the Banana River, is the settlement of Canaveral. A competent lay reader has been appointed for this point, and there is prospect of rapid increase. On Merritt's Island, about fifteen miles below Titusville, is the mission of Courtney, whose whole history is a continual record of hardship, self-denial and faith. A comfortable Church building has been completed at this point, to the great joy of a faithful people, and frequent services are held.

"The next point is Cocoa. The work in this attractive mission has been before referred to. A sweet toned bell has been given this mission, a faithful lay reader holds weekly service. . . . Merritt is a settlement opposite Cocoa. There are about nine communicants here who attend service in Cocoa when the wind is suitable. They have already raised somewhat towards a Church of their own, which can ultimately be served from Rockledge.

"Melbourne, with its pretty Church and furnished Rectory, is the next important point. The Rev. Dr. (William Porcher) DuBose, of the University of the South, kindly gave his vacation to this point last winter. . . .

"Communicants of the Church are found settled along the whole length of the river, specially at Micco, St. Sebastian, Fort Paine, Eden and the Narrows. These are visited by me as often as occasion will permit. Lake Worth is the last point upon the coast where the Church has a foothold. The Rev. Mr. Mulford has done efficient work this past winter. A neat Church has been erected, and by the liberal generosity of Mrs. Lucy Boardman a comfortable rectory will soon be completed.

"Three years ago there was not one place of worship on this whole coast; now there are five church buildings, with three rectories provided for."¹³⁹

When Bishop Weed addressed the Council in 1890, he spoke of the removals and deaths of the past two years in consequence of the epidemic, "so that the clergy in the Diocese have had double work to do." In spite of the shortage of men, there has been growth. A few years ago, there was not a church building in many miles of Eustis, in the lake region. In 1890, there were churches at Chetwynd, Montclair, Leesburg, Eustis, Pittman, Lane Park, and Zellwood—eight in all. A

¹³⁹*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1889.*

Church had been erected at Brooksville. "The Dean of the Southern Convocation remembers how, a few years ago, he began clearing in the wilderness. Now in that region, we have churches at Dunedin, Clearwater, Wilhelmsburg on the Manatee, Tampa, Thonotosassa, Fort Meade, and Acton. Soon will there be a Church at Kissimmee and at Bartow." In the western part of the state, the Church at Quincy was well underway; and good work was being done at Chipley. "There is a fair prospect of having a Church building erected at DeFuniak, which is a rapidly growing town." Encouraging reports have come from Wewahitchka and St. Andrew's Bay. Apalachicola has grown into a prosperous city of four thousand inhabitants.

"In the building of new railroads . . . the population of some places has undergone a great and serious change. Among these may be mentioned Fairbanks, Balmoral and Hawthorne. But these places are few in number. Some of the places which two years ago seemed about to become deserted villages, have in the past six months shown an astonishing amount of vitality."

On November 15th, 1889, the Bishop accepted the application of Holy Trinity, Conway, to become a mission; on the 29th of December, he consecrated the Church at Picolata.¹⁴⁰

Twenty-three clergymen were present at the Council in Pensacola, May 6-7-8th, 1891. The reports indicated continued growth; a new Church building available at Merritt, on the Indian River; a beautiful Church completed at Kissimmee; the Church of the deserted village of Acton transplanted to Lakeland, and in use there; a small Church in process of building at Punta Gorda; Narcoossee, with funds nearly sufficient for building a good church. "Narcoossee is essentially an English colony, where English customs prevail and prayers for the Queen and Royal Family are said with those for our own civil authority." It was apparent that the demands were too great for one Bishop to fulfil; and, after careful consideration, a Committee on the Division of the Diocese (the Reverend Albion W. Knight, the Reverend J. H. Weddell, the Reverend J. H. Davet, and Messrs. W. K. Hyer of Pensacola and D. A. Finlayson of Live Oak) recommended the adoption of a memorial to the General Convention, to fix the southern boundary of the Diocese on the south lines of the counties of Levy, Alachua, Putnam, and St. John's. Furthermore, the territory south of the said line was to be ceded to the General Convention, for the creation of a missionary jurisdiction. "It is time that the older settled portion of the state be occupied with missions," the report declared; "but this cannot be done

¹⁴⁰*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1890.*

so long as the necessity of caring for what has already been established remains so great. . . . The planting of the Church in the new field brings with it an increasing care and attention."¹⁴¹

On the first day of the General Convention held in Baltimore, October 5th, 1892, Major Fairbanks presented the memorial of the Diocese of Florida; and the same was referred to the Committee on New Dioceses. On the eighth day, October 13th, the Committee reported favourably. The two Houses concurred. Thus the division of the Church's work in the state was ratified; and the missionary jurisdiction of Southern Florida came into being.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1891.*

¹⁴²*Journal of the General Convention, P. E. Church, 1892, pp. 176, 264.*

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**REMINISCENCES OF ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE,
BISHOP OF WESTERN NEW YORK
1565-1596**

IN the writings of the Fathers one finds, very rarely, anything more gratifying to devout curiosity than what St. Augustine says of Milan in the days of St. Ambrose. Jerome's reference to the catacombs is full of interest. But, as belonging to the very earliest period of Christian history, I know nothing so touching as what Irenaeus relates, in words too few, of holy Polycarp, the martyr. Reproving Florinus, he says: "I saw thee in Lower Asia, with Polycarp, in the royal court, striving to gain his approval. I have a more vivid recollection of what occurred at that time than of events more recent: forasmuch as the experiences of childhood become incorporated with the soul, keeping pace with its growth. So I can even describe the place where the blessed Polycarp used to sit and discourse; also, his going out and coming in, his ordinary way of life and personal appearance, together with the homilies he delivered to the people. Moreover, I remember, how he would speak of his familiar intercourse with John, and how he would call to remembrance his words, and those of others who had seen the Lord."

Oh, dear and holy Irenaeus, why does thine account stop here and give us none of those details which might have thrown light on the gospels and the Apocalypse? Even so the Lord willed. This momentary uplifting of a curtain that veils the sub-apostolic age from our eye, seems rather to tantalize than to satisfy. But, it is very precious as far as it goes, and I never read it without thrills of mysterious satisfaction. I seem to see more than the mere glimpse it gives us of those primitive and faithful men: holy martyrs through whom we ourselves have received the Faith.

It has pleased God to spare me to threescore, and I observe a new generation about me, who know little of our own Church in its earlier days. It was then truly a **little one**; and its wonderful increase has, in some respects, diluted its spirit and obliterated its traditions. I am anxious to restore them, and to impart them to another generation, before I myself go the way of all the earth. So, if it please God, I purpose to put on record some perishing anecdotes of the past, and not a little of my own personal recollections.

I grew up in New York, where I saw the best days of Hobart, and

daily mingled with those who knew him most intimately. No matter how it so happened that a boy, born in a "manse," should have taken to the Church and her blessed ways, even from his nursery; but so it was in the providence of God. In that nursery, I learned the Church's catechism from the lips of a saintly mother; and under the first instructions of a pious and learned father, who imparted to me a knowledge of the Scriptures and a love for sacred literature, I also learned that delight in Church history and that reverence for the great restorers of the Church of England which have shaped my whole life. Such influences, and the society in which I lived, largely made up of kindred and friends who had been born and bred in the Church's fellowship, gave me good opportunities for satisfying my thirst for information about all its concerns. From my seventh year, I was an enthusiast in my inquiries and observations. Only a few of our fathers now in the House of Bishops have seen the older bishops who framed our constitutions and organized our American Church. I shall ever thank God that I have seen Bishop White, and have reverently held in my hands the relics of Seabury; which I helped to place in the coffin. With his worthy successor, Bishop Williams, I laid his bones in his sepulchre and covered them over with slabs of stone, under St. James' Church, in New London.

If only my recollections may supply one link in the train of our American traditions, I shall be grateful to God. For a bishop about to enter upon the fifteenth year of his episcopate, and who must soon be gathered to his fathers, it can hardly be thought inappropriate thus to converse with his own diocese, in his own little monthly record of pastoral work. What he writes is not designed for general circulation; on the contrary, it is talk with one's folk at home. But, possibly, in another generation, it may occasionally supply biographers and historians with the means of adding interest to their own nobler labors.

My next contribution to this series will be an anecdote which I have never seen in print, nor heard, save from one eye-witness. It is a remarkable incident which occurred at Bishop Hobart's consecration.

At the consecration of Bishops Hobart and Griswold, May 29, 1811, an incident occurred which bred not a little inquiry and discussion at the time among divers schools of Churchmen. Bishop White forgot the concluding words of the formula of consecration in both cases, and failed to say: "In the Name of the Father," etc. The question was raised: "Was this consecration valid?" and much antiquarian learning was called forth, not without advantage to the mind of the Church, to which such discussions were then quite novel. It was soon settled that the bishops were already bishops when this accident

occurred, the first words of the formula having imparted the episcopal character sufficiently and completely, without the residue; which, although solemn and appropriate, is merely a liturgical complement, or what the lawyers call surplusage.

I was talking this over once with my venerated friend, Dr. Wyatt, of Baltimore, and expressing my suspicion that Bishop White's memory was affected by the little question that had been agitated as to which of the bishops-elect were entitled to be first consecrated; a question he had settled in favour of Dr. Hobart, because he was the older Doctor of Divinity. This, Bishop White said, was the rule of the archbishops of Canterbury; but many thought he should have consecrated Dr. Griswold first, because he had been the first elected. The little agitation thus excited, I thought, might have operated, at the moment, to disturb the entire self-possession of the venerable Presiding Bishop as he proceeded to the act of laying-hands. Dr. Wyatt said, "but there was another disturbing cause;" he added: "I was present and recollect all the circumstances." As near as I can recall Dr. Wyatt's story it was as follows:

"Bishop Provoost was depended upon as the second bishop, Bishop Jarvis being the third: but Bishop Provoost was very ill and had for some time been unable to attend divine service in public. In fact, he was not present at the earlier part of the service, but presented himself, in due time, for the consecration, looking very feeble and haggard, almost corpse-like. So, when the moment came for him to take part in the imposition of hands, he was apparently unable to come forward, where the bishops-elect were kneeling. Bishop White, with Bishop Jarvis, advanced and laid hands upon Dr. Hobart; but the Presiding Bishop, probably closing his eyes for the better control of his thoughts at such a moment, did not observe that Bishop Provoost had remained in his chair. He was therefore just about to begin with the words of consecration, when a sonorous voice was heard—'*Wait!* or *Stop!*'—I can't say which. A pause ensued, very solemn and impressive. The venerable Provoost tottered forward, assisted by some of the clergy, and stretched forth his hands, laying them on the head of Dr. Hobart, when the solemnity was duly proceeded with."

This disturbance, Dr. Wyatt thought, might well account for the momentary agitation of the Presiding Bishop, which led him to forget the concluding words of the formula.

I thought so too, but suggest what I have seen good reason since for regarding as a very important maxim: "No bishop should

ever trust his memory in the act of ordaining; he should read the formula from the book." I well remember the solemn effect with which Dr. Wainwright opened and held the book, before Bishop Griswold, when he consecrated Dr. Lee, of Delaware, in St. Paul's Chapel, New York.

I said to Dr. Wyatt, "Do you recollect who it was that cried out '*Wait!*'?"

"Yes," he answered, "it was the celebrated Dr. Gardiner, of Trinity Church, Boston, and just like him."

* * * * *

Truly out of "weakness we have been made strong," and we owe it largely to the new era which Bishop Hobart established in the American Church. Such let us call it; for all Christians belong to one Church, if they only knew that such is their happiness.

Think of that epoch, 1811, when Hobart and Griswold were consecrated. The triennial convention had just met; only two bishops present, and it adjourned in four days. The entire clergy-list contained but 178 names; though Virginia and Delaware were too feeble to report, and hence are not included. The great diocese of New York numbered 44 clergy. Father Nash—whose work is described in Cooper's "Pioneers"—reigned over Otsego County, and all Western New York was under one faithful pioneer, the Rev. Davenport Phelps. And yet the diocese had three bishops, all at one time: a sign of anything but strength. The aged Bishop Provoost had resigned, and was in his dotage. Bishop Moore was the diocesan, but was unable to leave his bed-chamber. The young coadjutor-bishop started under every disadvantage of such a position, intensified by the fact that some still regarded Bishop Provoost as the diocesan. A seed-plot of nettles soon broke into full bearing, and Bishop Hobart was forced, at the very outset of his career, to encounter an opposition which seemed animated by nothing so much as "envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness." For at least 18 years his life was a contest; some who should have sustained him falling away, or even enrolling themselves against a great catholic prelate full of the primitive spirit, and anxious to place everything in the poor afflicted Church on the basis of what he called—somewhat clumsily, perhaps—"evangelical truth and apostolical order." Heartily, were they ashamed of themselves when the good man came to die; then all were anxious to establish a claim to have been his friends. His successor was triumphantly elected, simply because he had been a faithful supporter of his bishop; and much abler men found themselves, deservedly, nowhere, because they had been, if not factious and disorderly, still precisely of the class

described by Solomon, when he says: "Confidence in an unfaithful man is like a broken tooth or a foot out of joint." Such is the moral which one learns from those days when all that has created these five dioceses was constantly opposed and spoken against.

Let nothing revive the unworthy memory of those who made the troubles to which we refer. Bishop Provoost lingered on till 1815, and dear good Bishop Moore followed him in less than six months. It was not until 1816 that the episcopate of Bishop Hobart became that of a diocesan. His sermon at the funeral of his predecessor was on the "state of the departed," and attracted much attention at the time.

Of course, I never knew Bishop Moore, but it was my happiness to know, very well, his venerable relict, and to learn much of his character in early intercourse with the charming family of his son, the late Clement C. Moore, of New York—one of the noblest specimens of Christian layman which this Church has ever produced. I recollect the beautiful old family-seat, then far away from the city, its lawn sloping down to the Hudson, and embowered in trees. The seminary was built upon a portion of this estate, given to the Church for the purpose, by this excellent son.

Bishop Moore visited Western New York, and consecrated, I think, the old church at Geneva. I found some old Churchmen who remembered him when I first came into the diocese. He was always spoken of with reverence, and I have always entertained for his pure memory a sincere and affectionate regard.

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THE CHURCHES IN OLD NEW YORK.

When I first began to open mine eyes upon New York, St. John's Chapel was the noblest of our churches, and its beauty of situation upon Hudson Square gave it an incomparable advantage. That square, with the charming enclosure which we called "St. John's Park," was the most pleasing spot in the city for dwellings. The enclosure was kept under lock and key and was a favorite resort for children. On the fine afternoons of spring and the autumn many a happy hour have I spent there with my young mates. Now, all is changed; an odious eye-sore disfigures the scene. One only preferable quarter might be named, but it was even then too far down town. That was the Battery—quiet and shaded with old trees and looking out over that bay of charms—then adorned by so many sails, and free from the smoke and ugliness of steamers. The Chiaja of Naples is not more delightful; and there, were New Yorkers wise, their noblest dwellings would even now be

placed. But this delightful scene, which God has made such a gift to the people, is disfigured with the unpardonable abominations of elevated railway tracks and all manner of unsightly nuisances.¹

Passing up from the Battery you came to the crouching and tasteless fabric called "Grace Church," doubtless from the spiritual perfections within, for it had no external graces to boast of. And it used to puzzle me, as a boy, to imagine why such a church should have been built only about thirty feet from Trinity churchyard, and within pistol-shot of that dignified pile. But so it was, and those who enjoyed the ministrations of Dr. Wainright, its rector, thought they had good reason to sustain it. Trinity came next, and looked grand in the contrast. It had pointed windows, and was supposed to be Gothic. Its tall tapering spire, shingled and painted white, was in good-keeping with the architecture, and the general effect of the structure in its ample churchyard was very pleasing. But a quarter of a mile further up Broadway brought us to dear old St. Paul's Chapel, not so costly nor so large as St. John's, but greatly superior to it for comely proportions and its unrivalled symmetry of spire. No steeple in those days was other than white. It had a mysterious charm for me, with its orientation; the tower and spire seeming to be at the wrong end. One enters it from Broadway, at the rear; its front is towards the Hudson, and opens on the churchyard. Very creditably has the architect managed this peculiarity: and while it is but a copy of Wren's London architecture, it is far superior to anything of the kind in London. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, which it somewhat resembles, cannot be compared with it. The figure of St. Paul which adorns the pediment gave Whitefield occasion for his jest: "Poor apostle! I wish they would not turn you out of doors, as well as me!" To this chapel Washington repaired, with the great men of his day, in procession, immediately after taking the oath as first President; a refreshing example soon lost sight of by his successors. And here he is said to have been an occasional communicant, as well as a constant attendant. Old people remembered him as remaining when non-communicants withdrew, and this was commonly reported in New York. During his official life he dropped habitual communion, from false view of duty; but, I think it sufficiently proved that he was a communicant at a time when he thought less seriously on the subject.

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Other prominent churches were St. George's, in Beekman Street, originally a chapel of Trinity; Christ Church, in Anthony Street, just off Broadway; St. Stephen's, a little aside from the Bowery, near Grand

¹*St. John's was later demolished.*

Street; and St. Mark's, far out in the country, and often called the "Stuyvesant Church." On the other side of the city, in "Greenwich Village," as we called it, was snug little St. Luke's with a tower, but no spire, and surrounded by a trim enclosure, with its parsonage. This was a church which became very dear to me. And all these I knew, inside as well as out, from my childhood. And let me not forget Zion Church, far over to the east, and All Saints in the same distant regions. The French Church (du St. Esprit) I have not forgotten, but reserved for my last remarks. It looked somewhat like a French chateau, and stood in a churchyard on Nassau Street, but was entered from Pine Street, just opposite where now stands the Custom House. Nobody could look at it without thinking of the Edict of Nantes; and many were the graves of the old Huguenots which were gathered under its shadow.

These were all the churches, if I am not mistaken, which we had in New York in 1825, or about that date.

Christ Church was originally in Ann Street, a very shabby neighbourhood; but I only recollect it there as it appeared after its sale to the Romanists, when it was a poor sort of fabric without and within.

And now as to interiors. I do not remember that any of these churches had well-defined chancels, with the exception of St. Paul's. Most of them were copies of old Trinity. The chancel was behind the pulpit, at a little distance, and consisted of a mere inclosure for the altar, over which there was a great window of plain glass. The altars were covered with velvet, sometimes slightly embroidered, with I. H. S. on the frontal. But, even so, there was dignity about these chancels, and the alterations introduced by Bishop Hobart were as great a practical mistake as such a man could make; which I think I shall make clear by-and-by.

St. Paul's was the beauty among them all. When I first knew it the escutcheons had been removed, and the canopies taken away from the right and left aisles, where one pew had been reserved for the President of the United States, and another for the Governor of the State, and the National and State arms were displayed accordingly. They were now hung over the staircase to the north gallery, and I remember that General Montgomery's monument under the portico, and these insignia of the Government, gave me a sort of idea that St. Paul's was, in some sort, a national church, wholly unlike all others.

At the head of the middle alley, and very near you as one entered St. Paul's from Broadway, stood the desk and pulpit; the latter quite high, to command the galleries, and of beautiful proportions,

standing like a wine-glass on its stem, and overhung by a superb canopy. Over the preacher's head, on the ceiling of the canopy, was a gilded dove and glory; but above, on the arched top, was a Prince of Wales coronet and feathers, richly gilded. I suppose this was a relic of colonial times, but I fancy it is there to this day. Behind, in its dim recess, was the chancel. Montgomery's monument outside, by partially obscuring the east window had forced the contrivance of a rich effect inside; for over the altar stood the two tables of the Law; above which was displayed a Shekinah of glory, flanked by "tempest, fire and smoke," all wrought out with elaborate reliefs in stucco and with liberal gilding. I thought it a majestic altar. At its side, but very low down, was a little credence, which seemed as old as the church, and which was rubrically used, at least, on solemn occasions. The walls of this chancel were adorned with tablets to Bishop Inglis, Rip Van Dam and other worthies; and every word upon them I had spelled out and wondered over as very ancient, when I was very young.

A venerable lady, widely known in the Church, and enrolled among our "deaconesses," writes thus from Detroit:

"The Orbit informs me of the death of Mary Hobart whom I knew from her girlhood. * * * Your recollections of New York recall the past, most vividly. In St. John's Chapel, I received my first Communion, seventy years ago, from Bishop Moore, and there, the same year (1809) I was afterwards married. I recall the beautiful park and adjacent dwellings, now so dreadfully transformed. Also, the old Grace Church, with its rector on Rector Street, opposite Trinity churchyard. * * * The descendants of those old Church families are widely scattered in this changeful world, but memory, in a wonderful manner, makes the long past seem present."

Few, now living, have such memories of our first bishops as this lady: few have enjoyed so much of their acquaintance. She has known more or less of the entire American succession. We are glad to find our "Recollections" stirring up something like a revival of old loves and loyalties in the Church.

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In those days old Trinity, with its two chapels, kept up a high standard of morning service on all feast days and the stationary days, as well as on special days in Lent. On Christmas Day, only one service; but two services on Good Friday, and sermons at each. Some of our churches were usually closed from Sunday to Sunday. Dr. Milnor, of St. George's, had a snug little chapel, where he felt at liberty to treat the rubrics with very slight respect, at his weekly

evening lecture, but he was, in other respects, an exemplary pastor, and to his lasting glory be it said that he was the first of the New York rectors, so far as I observed, to raise Holy Week into special importance and dignity, by continual services, and sermons on the Passion.

He was a very dignified old clergyman when I first knew him, and to the end of his days; at times an eloquent preacher and an admirable extemporaneous speaker. He was the head of the "Low Church" party, but without any suspicion of radicalism or latitudinarianism, another Legh Richmond, in his way. Dear old man! I was only seven years old when he read the burial service over my maternal grandmother, and never shall I lose the impression of his voice as he began the office—"I am the Resurrection." At the casting of the earth on the coffin, I trembled with a sense of awe never felt before; and often afterwards I followed funerals for no other purpose than to see that simple ceremony and to hear those sublime words. Dr. Milnor was a personal friend of my father's, and his kindness to me was very marked after I took holy orders, so that I loved him dearly and sorrowed when he rested from his labours.

Fortunately, I never learned any other catechism than that of the Church, and as Mrs. Sherwood's "Stories on the Catechism" was the chief book in my nursery literature, I gained many good ideas about sponsors, and churchmanship of a certain kind out of that book, and from the explanations always tenderly given to my inquiries by the best of theological elementarians, a saintly mother. Thus prepared, I kept my first Christmas at old St. Paul's, in 1824, when Dr. Schroeder officiated and preached. The musical parts of the service pleased me, and so did the evergreens, somewhat more scantily bestowed about the chapel than I have seen in other years. But, the great square pew in which I was placed was a miserable pen for my active disposition. I could see nothing till the clergyman mounted the pulpit. In those days all the clergy wore black silk gloves in the pulpit, and funerals kept them well supplied with such embellishments. It was usual, however, to clip off the tips of the gloves, on the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, which enabled his reverence to turn the leaves of his sermon. This, naturally, looked odd to a child. Dr. Hawks was the first, I think, to get rid of gloves, and his example was immediately followed by almost all the clergy. Of late, "the spruce bands" have disappeared in like manner.

Of course, I did not appreciate Dr. Schroeder's sermon. He was just then the popular preacher of New York. People had a rage to hear him for a time; but it proved a very short-lived and capricious

example of popular favour. He was, nevertheless, an excellent pastor and as accomplished scholar. He had a Bible-class for ladies, and he attended to catechising. I was sometimes present at his catechisings in St. Paul's, where he explained to me the Hebrew letters of the ineffable name over the altar, in kind compliance with my childish curiosity. Let me never forget how much compliances do to interest and attract the minds of the young.

One word, once and for all, about gown, cassock, bands and a pulpit of the old wine-glass pattern. I am persuaded that we have suffered a great loss by the disuse of these things. We have gained, vastly in giving its due honour to the altar, but we have debased preaching and greatly injured the standard of the preacher. In those days when the function of the ambassador was denoted to the eye as evidently as that of the priest, it was not so easy as now to slight the sermon. The man of God laid aside his sacerdotal attire and resumed it significantly; and the office of preaching the word was magnified, as he stood before us in his pulpit, which is a relic of the primitive ambon, attired in his cassock, girdle and gown, which the Orientals have used for ages, and which they justly esteem the original clerical costume. The Bishop of Lincoln identifies this gown with the *pallium* defended by Tertullian, and the Greeks consider the cassock a copy of the seamless tunic of Christ, in its general pattern. *Non nobis tantas*, etc. Only, I predict that when good sense shall restore the use of this most ancient attire and give us back our pulpits, we shall find that preaching will regain its power. Not that I would confine the preacher to his pulpit, much less to his gown; but, educating him to his function by the use of both, I would enable him to make all the more emphatic his exceptional freedoms, in preaching from the chancel, without manuscript. Such freedoms, would, then, indicate a genuine earnestness and could not be made the refuge of indolence.

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There was a stair-case outside of St. Stephen's Church that went up into a sort of balcony erected inside, and hanging like a private box upon the eastern wall, south of the altar. The story was, that in the time of the fervidly eloquent Dr. Moore, afterward bishop of Virginia, a passionate admirer, who couldn't get a pew in St. Stephen's, obtained leave to erect this odd box for himself and family. I have sometimes thought it must have inspired Bishop Hobart with his one mistake in practical matters; for like this box was the pulpit he now contrived and brought into use in New York. In true American fashion the novelty took people's fancies, and it swept throughout the diocese, and transformed our fabrics throughout the land.

I recollect the time when St. John's Chapel was deformed by the new use. A huge desk, in front of which was placed a diminished and very undignified altar, encircled with rails that described a "Kidney-shaped" curve from the ends of the huge desk aforesaid, was the conspicuous feature of the improvement, or it would have been, but for the pulpit that loomed above, entered by a door behind. To a child, the pulpit without stairs to reach it was a curiosity: but, when the back of the pulpit flew out, and entered the black-robed preacher, who had just vanished from the desk in a surplice, it was a most pleasing surprise. Just like the wall that opened so often in the "Arabian Nights," so it struck me, and it pleased me vastly. Novelties please children, and I was delighted.

If I remember correctly, this was the first example, but the splendors of this sort of effect came out only when St. Thomas' was built. This was "the Gothic Church," so-called, and how magnificent it appeared to me. While it was going up on Broadway, just one mile from the city hall—the first milestone stood just about a couple of rods to the south—I was struck by the picturesque appearance; it looked like a sort of castle with its two towers and its stone walls. When finished, however, I imagined it a small Westminster Abbey. I first saw its interior on Christmas Day, and it affected me more than the great cathedrals of Europe have ever affected me since. No galleries, and the wood-work of oak; the first oak-painted church I ever saw. The roof imitated an open roof very successfully, the great trusses between the bays being real, and ornamenting the walls with fine effect. The beautifully adorned pulpit hung upon the wall, with gorgeous canopy, and a niched doorway in the rear. Far up over it, under a rose-window, and occupying the triangle made by the open roof, was the organ-loft, from which the music came down with sweet influence and fine effect. The church was decked with evergreens, and, as I entered, Croswell's poetry best describes what I saw:

"The gentle evergreens they wreath
Through every hallowed fane,
A soft reviving odour breathe
Of summer's gentle reign;
And rich the ray of mild green light
That like an emerald's glow,
Comes straggling from the latticed height
Upon the crowds below."

Dear Cornelius Duffie! even now I see his comely and attractive face, and hear him as he read the Epistle—"God who at sundry times and

in divers manners," etc. Boy as I was, I felt how striking was that Scripture on a Christmas morning. I think this was the only Christmas he ever officiated there. I never saw him again. I was sent to a boarding-school in the country, and he died soon after. But one of my schoolmates was a kinsman of Duffie's, and often did we talk over his charming manner and his beautiful church. Of this church Dr. McVickar had the credit of furnishing the design, and it was a great move towards the creation of architectural taste. Dr. Hopkins gave the church a set of designs for Gothic-work of a similar sort, and though, when he became Bishop Hopkins, he was accustomed to laugh at them, they were a step to better things.

And now that the three-deckers are gone from our churches, let us reflect on the real merit that was at the foundation of Bishop Hobart's contrivance. That great prelate subjected everything to his thought of getting the Church in all her beauty before the eyes of men, hoping so to win their hearts. He objected, therefore, to the prevailing plan of St. Paul's and other chancels behind desk and pulpit; for this arrangements hid the Church's offices. One could not see the priest at the altar, nor the bishop in confirmation. How could such solemnities, like a candle under a bushel, convey any light to the eyes or affect men's minds? Thus the object was excellent, though the contrivance was bad; for it dwarfed the altar and unduly displayed the preacher, as if the sermon were the great thing instead of public worship. No doubt the restoration of chancels as now prevalent would be just what the bishop preferred above all; but I am sure this other extreme of having no pulpits at all would not have met his approval. Much less would he have fancied the "few remarks" from the lectern, which are so often made to do duty where an honest sermon is fairly due to "the hungry sheep." But we Americans never know how to stop till improvement swings to the opposite extreme and oscillates to and fro for a time in defiance of equilibrium and the perpendicular. The poor property-man at the opera was so tickled with the success of his morning-gun, which the audience applauded, that he encored himself, and kept on firing morning-guns till the music was spoiled and the frantic manager rushed in, threshing the fellow for his pains and crying—"Hang you, can't you take a good idea without working it to death?" All which is *apropos* of many excellent devices, such as processional, recessional, homages, reverences, anthems and the cornet *obligato* in choirs. But, after all, *ne quid nimis*. One can't make his dinner on charlotte-ruches and water-ices, nor even on melons and strawberries. Give us a little old-fashioned roast beef for a *piece de resistance* and then serve up your entremets and delicacies for those

whose palates they please, and whose healthy digestion they do not wholly confound.

* * * * *

Bishop Hobart was rector of Trinity Church as well as bishop of the diocese, and I used to observe the good taste which led him to appear in episcopal robes only when he had episcopal functions to perform. Shakespeare is good authority for high-tone in such a matter:

"Thus did I keep my person fresh and new,
My presence like a robe pontifical
Ne'er seen but wondered at."

I doubt whether the perpetual use of episcopal vestments, on all occasions, is in keeping with the spirit of our office, or with practical wisdom; but, on this point, it will not do to be dogmatical. Only I have observed in foreign churches, as well as our own, that there is high example on my side.

To see Bishop Hobart ministering in his surplice, and preaching in his gown, cassock and bands, was always pleasing to my fancy. Such is the beauty of simplicity, even to a child's mind.

Often have I been at the week-day prayers, in St. John's, when he officiated. On Saints' Days he lectured sometimes; I remember his doing so once on St. Matthias' Day. Besides the children of Trinity School, there were not a score of persons present—all women, some of them of very humble appearance. Little did the good bishop imagine that the boy in a corner who helped to swell the responses would, one day, succeed to his labours in Western New York and would write these reminiscences.

My way to school, while I yet went to a dame's school, led me to pass St. John's every morning; and there I sometimes saw the bishop, in his garden, admiring the plants, for he was very fond of flowers and of nature in all her pleasant forms, displaying the glory of God. This, also, impressed me with a sense of his pure and refined tastes.

I remember a sermon he once preached in St. Paul's, on the text, from Habbakuk, "Although the fig-tree shall not blossom," etc. But, a truly interesting occasion, when he preached a memorable sermon, and when I first saw him in his robes, was that of the institution of Dr. Upfold, as the successor of my favourite Duffie, in St. Thomas'. This sermon did not please the low-church brethren, but my venerated father, who was present, remarked that "it was the unquestionable doctrine of the Church of England which, as a bishop, he was consistently maintaining." It was on this occasion that I first heard of

the "Apostolic Succession," which my father kindly explained to me as the ground-work of the bishop's argument.

Some of my playmates were members of St. Thomas', and so I was not infrequently an attendant there during Dr. Upfold's incumbency. He had previously been rector of St. Luke's, and there he had seemed to me in his proper place; but I could not be satisfied with him in the place of Mr. Duffie. I often think of the strong personal interest which a clergyman may inspire in the mind of the young, when I reflect on these impressions of my boyhood so casually produced.

When Bishop Hobart went to Europe, it occasioned much talk and attention; for foreign travel was then, comparatively, an infrequent incident in clerical and episcopal life. One of my tutors composed an acrostic, which was published on the occasion, and which, so far as I can recollect, was nearly as follows:

"H obart the great, the learned and the good,
O n favouring winds is borne across the flood:
B orne, too, in hearts, and in his people's prayers,
A s one who always their affection shares.
R eturn, O God, this shepherd to our land
T o guide the Church with consecrated hand."

But some cried out against this as fulsome adulation: for the bishop had enemies as well as friends.

I followed Bishop Hobart's funeral from St. John's to Trinity Church. What a sensation was made by the circumstances of his death! I do not recollect anything like it in the history of the American Church. There were no railways, nor telegraphs in those days; but the news came that the bishop had fallen ill at Auburn, and then, like a thunder-clap, that he was dead. Everybody felt it—not Churchmen only, for Hobart was one of the pillars of social life in New York, and was everywhere recognized as the most active prelate of the Church; in fact, he was its representative bishop before the country, and admired by all for his consistent and faithful devotion to the interests and to the standard theology of the Church to which he devoted all his energies.

And so it seemed as if everybody attended the funeral. The gowned faculty and students of Columbia College added to its dignity. The Dutch and Presbyterian pastors of the city were in the procession in a body, and all the respectability of New York turned out to honour this great champion of the Faith. The coffin was borne on the shoulders of eight men, who were relieved at intervals by eight

others, taking it by turns. The pall covered the men as well as the coffin, and it had tassels in the old fashion, which were held by the pall-bearers, who were venerable clergymen in gowns, cassocks, bands and black gloves. We see no more such decent funerals. This was the most dignified one New York ever saw, in my young days. Its grand military funerals were vulgar in comparison. As the solemn march passed down Broadway a company of soldiers, accidentally encountered, opened and presented arms, standing still till the long procession went by. It was nightfall when it reached Trinity Church. I can see the twinkle of its candles and hear the solemn swell of its organ even now.

* * * * *

Speaking of candles, it may be worth while recalling, some day, that Trinity Church, St. Paul's and St. George's, and several others, were adorned with chandeliers of cut-glass and lighted by candles throughout, pulpit-lights included. The effect was very brilliant, and, for one, I can't understand how they managed the candles, which seemed always to burn with steady lustre, never melting and dripping, as they are wont to do, in our houses. The modern gas-burners are convenient, but can never beautify a church as did the old chandeliers.

It pleases me to hear from old friends of Bishop Hobart who yet survive, that I am carrying them back to scenes and experiences which they recall with no ordinary pleasure; and not less to be told by younger men that they are glad to learn something from such incidents as I am here recording, of the personal appearance and ways of one whose fame is so fresh and whose influence is so lasting in the Church; while his published sermons and the "Memoirs" that have appeared, fail to give the secret of his magnetic power over his contemporaries. I, therefore, devote another paper to some anecdotes of Hobart.

Almost one of the last things the bishop did was to write a brief but very beautiful letter of condolence to George Griffin, an eminent lawyer of New York, on the death of his young and gifted son, Edmund, who died soon after taking deacon's orders. Mr. Griffin, the father, was a Presbyterian of great respectability, nearly related to the president of "Williams College," who made a great figure in those days. Few young men have ever entered our ministry with such brilliant prospects as were those of Edmund. Columbia College has rarely turned out a youth of more splendid promise. His taking orders was a great disappointment to Presbyterians; they felt that Columbia College was robbing them of their brightest ornament; and

this feeling resulted in the foundation of the University, in which the Reformed Dutch gained a predominant influence, though Dr. Milnor and, for a time, Dr. Wainwright lent it a strong support, on the ground that the university was a need of the "metropolis," such as the restricted charter of Columbia could not supply. Considering the high and liberal academic system with which it began, it is marvelous that Presbyterians have suffered it to decline, though, even now, it has a highly dignified and vigorous intellect at its head; while they have given even millions to Princeton and other external colleges. I venture to add that it is even more marvellous that Columbia, with its princely endowment, has never "magnified its office," and made itself to New York what Harvard is to Boston. Some of the most vigorous blows of Bishop Hobart in the last year of his life were dealt at this University project, which he had the mortification of finding patronized by some of his own clergy and laity. It was, indeed, promoted by eminent men, and John Quincy Adams presided over a convention of scholars which was twice called together to frame a true university system suited to America. If Bishop Hobart had been spared I have thought a powerful impulse would have been given to the development of Columbia, and that Edmund Griffin would have incidentally bequeathed a brilliant career to his *Alma Mater*.

But hardly had the bishop written to condole with the family on Edmund's death—the ink of that touching letter was hardly dry—when the death of the bishop himself was announced. It was an event which obliterated all thoughts of the gifted young deacon, and Griffin has not been remembered in the Church, as, otherwise, he must have been.

The last time I saw Bishop Hobart was in the Easter season of the year in which he died, when he presided in St. John's Chapel at the annual gathering of Sunday school children. A presbyter preached, but the bishop presided. I seem now to see him, as he knelt at the altar, uttered the concluding prayers in the quick nervous tone so peculiar to him, and then gave the blessing. Though, like Archbishop Laud, almost diminutive in stature, he made a commanding figure when officiating. He always seemed to be a permanent figure of New York, and little did I dream I should never see him again. The next year, also, I was present at the gathering of children, and got my "book and cake" as I left the chapel. The book told us about the bishop's presence at the previous anniversary, and added: "When he died, he died like an Apostle." These words made a deep impression on my mind. Truly "words are things."

The "temperance movement" was just coming into vogue during

the bishop's last years. He died a martyr to his abstinence, as I shall relate; but, characteristically, he opposed the fanatical conduct of some of its first promulgators. They told a story about his wicked "opposition", which does him no discredit, though it was used to make him odious in the popular mind. Travelling on the Hudson, in one of the day-boats, he was seated at the dinner-table, which in those days, was always furnished with decanters—a "custom more honoured in the breach than in the observance." Suddenly, a strident voice was heard: "Waiter! take away those bottles." The startled negro hurried to comply, when he was arrested by another voice, saying, in a mild but firm tone: "You will please let the decanters alone; they are furnished for the public, and nobody has any right to order them off." The bishop afterwards remarked, in explanation: "It is not a question as to the use of liquors; it is an impertinent interference with the rights of passengers to judge for themselves; and, so long as the steamboat company furnish their tables in this way, I will not submit to have *the public liberty judged of any one man's conscience.*" I Cor. x, 29.

In yet another paper, I propose to tell the other side of the story; how the bold, uncompromising bishop could use his liberty to abstain, and gave up his life in order to avoid "the appearance of evil." The two anecdotes, together, lend a most important hint to the clergy, as to their duty, in our own times, and not with reference to temperance questions only.

* * * * *

The anecdote of Bishop Hobart which I subjoin was told of him soon after his death, but I never got a responsible voucher for it till I heard it—many years later—from the late Dr. Seabury. Even he could only give it as an *on dit*. I was, therefore, much pleased when I first came into Western New York, to hear it from an original witness—the late Mr. Pitkin—so long a warden of St. Luke's Church, Rochester. He told it in connection with an incident which shall be narrated as a preface to the more important narration that follows. He said, in substance, as follows:

"When Bishop Hobart officiated at St. Luke's for the last time, I observed that he was very feeble from the consequences of an illness which he invariably suffered as soon as he came upon the limestone regions of the State and began to drink the water. To counteract this, he had been accustomed to put a little brandy into his glass at dinner with good effect, and I attributed his exhaustion, at this time, to the fact that on this journey he had forborne to use the remedy.

He was, for him, very languid, and yet his nervous manner was conspicuously increased. We had a very slightly constructed font, which stood close to the chancel-rail, and as the bishop went around confirming, his lawn-sleeve caught the bowl and threw it over, breaking it to shivers. Though not superstitious," Mr. Pitkin added, "I felt, for a moment, that it was an unpleasant omen; the bishop seemed to be destroying himself like that fragile vessel."

"After the service I remonstrated with him, and told him he was going beyond his strength. In particular, I advised him not to omit the accustomed tablespoonful of brandy at dinner, which I thought would correct an irritation of the stomach that was daily growing worse. The bishop replied that, as he had told me before, he felt it desirable for the Church's credit that he should not be charged with indulgence at a time of such popular excitement on the subject. Brandy was no more furnished at ordinary meals; to send for it was unpleasant, and to send for it *for the bishop's use* might create a scandal. In behalf, therefore, of his hospitable friends, at whose houses he was entertained, he had resolved not to touch brandy on this journey. He hoped to discover that he could do without it. He had fortified himself before setting out with other remedies, and he was resolved to trust to them till he should reach home. I told him that I feared he might not reach home, and he answered, with a characteristic energy, 'then I will die.' And so he did.

"He went, next day, by stage-coach to Canandaigua, and so by Geneva to Auburn. As I had foreseen, his disorder had run into dysentery, and at Auburn it reached its climax and killed him."

Thus his precious life was sacrificed by a heroic resolution not to compromise the character of a bishop by even the "appearance of evil," slight as was his respect for the measures and denunciations by which the temperance reformers were accustomed to enforce their just ideas of the sin of drunkenness and the perils of even moderate indulgence. Dr. Seabury called him the victim of a morbid popular feeling; at all events he was a martyr to his sense of duty. Perhaps nobody who does not remember the intense excitement of those days, and at the same time the prejudice encountered by Churchmen because they commonly took no part in the very questionable measures then adopted, can wholly estimate the degree of importance which Bishop Hobart attached to his resolve. Because he was independent of popular prescriptions, therefore, all the more he was unwilling to do violence to public opinion, so far as it was consistent with his own views of self-denial and pure example. "Giving none offence that the ministry be not blamed," is a text which may have powerfully in-

fluenced such a mind as Bishop Hobart's. Another excellent man and great bishop was very naturally led to think that Bishop Hobart carried his principle too far, and, in precisely similar circumstances, adopting another course, a habit grew upon him, imperceptibly, which led to the loss of his usefulness and to melancholy results, now matter of sad history. He mastered his evil habit with pious and steady devotion to self-conquest, which should ever endear him to the Church. But, when one contrasts his career with that of the heroic Hobart, it is not possible to feel otherwise than that if Hobart erred it was on the safer side, and that he has left to all his brethren in the episcopate a lofty example, by which, "being dead, he yet speaketh."

In Memoriam

GEORGE SHERMAN BURROWS

PRIEST. DOCTOR.

VALUED CONTRIBUTOR TO THIS MAGAZINE

BEGINNINGS IN ALASKA

By John W. Chapman

TO review the whole field of the early history of the work undertaken in Alaska by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Episcopal Church would take us beyond the scope of this article, which aims only at giving an account of the establishment of the first of our missions there.

This was in 1886, just ten years before the district received an episcopal visitation and when the initial rush of gold seekers to the Klondyke, in 1896, inaugurated a social revolution that has changed the complexion of civilization in the Yukon Valley.

The first of our missionaries to Alaska, the Reverend Octavius Parker of the diocese of California, went out like Abraham, not knowing whither he went. He had a field more than twice as large as Texas in which to operate, with the restriction that he should not interfere with the Presbyterians in southeastern Alaska. This did not tie him down too closely. To the northward there was still a range of more than a thousand miles in which to make the influence of the Church felt.

Some time before the appointment of Mr. Parker an appeal had been made to the Board of Missions by an officer of the United States Revenue Service. Commander Stockton, who had been appalled by the condition of the natives of the Behring Sea and the Arctic coast, arising from their contact with the crews of the whalers operating in that region, being a Churchman and a Christian gentleman took it for granted that the Church had a mission there. As a matter of fact, the Church has had a great deal to do with correcting the conditions which then existed along the Eskimo coast, but that came later. When Mr. Parker went out he was looking for an opening.

At that time the suzerainty of the whole of Alaska was vested in the Alaska Commercial Company. Their principal source of revenue was the fur industry and their principal trading station in the Behring Sea district was St. Michael.

In itself St. Michael is about as unattractive as a place of residence as any in Alaska, but it was headquarters of an extensive fur trade and the port where most of the scientific and exploring expeditions in the north were outfitted and from which they took their

departure. To it every spring came the great skin boats of the Behring Sea Eskimo, bringing great store of furs as well as whalebone and ivory for the trade in San Francisco and seal skins and huge sea lion skins bulging with oil and blubber for the local trade. To it also came the natives of the Yukon and the half dozen white traders who had stations on that great river at intervals of some four hundred miles. Each of the traders had one or more boats of from two or three to ten tons' capacity in which he drifted down to the mouth of the Yukon and then sailed northward along the coast to St. Michael, sixty miles distant, to exchange his furs for goods and credit with the Company. The return journey, with a cargo of supplies and trading goods for a year, would be made in tow of one of the Company's boats or of a small stern wheel steamer owned by one of the traders.

The Company had several boats, running to various points on the Alaskan coast. One of these went to St. Michael annually, to stock the Company stores there and to bring back the furs and other merchandise that had been accumulating since the visit of the previous year. This boat also brought the annual mail for the whole of the Behring Sea area. The mail was not a heavy one.

The Company was in Alaska to make money. The traders through whom its goods finally reached the native consumers were at considerable risk in prosecuting their business, and the normal rate of profit which they expected was one hundred per cent of the cost of the goods which they handled. The idea that the primitive people with whom they dealt through the medium of a jargon compounded of Russian with Indian or Eskimo would ever be able to make use of a mail order catalogue would probably have seemed fantastic to them, but some sense of an impending change made the Company agents restless in the presence of the missionary element. This was the time of the beginning of the successful introduction of the domestic reindeer by the Reverend Doctor Sheldon Jackson, of the Presbyterian Mission, and his influence with the United States Government together with his interest in the welfare of the natives had made him an object of jealous suspicion to the Company.

This, then, was the situation when Mr. and Mrs. Parker with their two young children and Mrs. McDowell, a friend of the Parkers, arrived at St. Michael in the summer of 1886. The Russian Church was already represented there and Mr. Parker was unable to formulate any plan for immediate action. He and his family were provided with accommodations in the Company's administration building and passed the winter in St. Michael. Mrs. McDowell died during the winter

and the consequent distress and the sense of isolation worked upon Mrs. Parker and made her homesick.

Their rooms were next to the offices of the Company and the walls were thin. Mr. Parker told the writer that he heard the Agent read instructions which he had received from the San Francisco office, to the effect that he was to show the missionary every courtesy and not let him succeed.

Inland, at a distance of approximately one hundred miles, the Yukon river runs parallel with the coast in a southerly direction past the latitude of St. Michael, continuing onward for some one hundred and fifty miles before it turns to the northwest to find its outlet in Behring Sea. The Indians of the Yukon had winter trails to the coast at various points, to facilitate trade with the Eskimo although there was a great deal of hostility between the two races. One of these trails led almost directly eastward from St. Michael and found its terminal on the Yukon at Anvik, where there was an Indian population of one hundred and fifty people. This was considered a large community for the Yukon, although the natives called St. Michael "The Big Place" on account of its economic importance, notwithstanding that it would hardly rate above Anvik in the census report.

Anvik had been a trading station and there was considerable winter intercourse between that place and St. Michael. At the moment the trader had left several good log cabins unoccupied and was living with his family at St. Michael. The winter habitations of the natives were all "dugouts", which have been sufficiently described by explorers. In comparison the log cabins were palatial. The largest of these was less than twenty-five feet square.

It must have been in April of 1887 that a party of Anvik Indians went to St. Michael on a trading expedition, where they met Mr. Parker. Learning of his intentions, they invited him to go back with them and look over their village in the hope that he would think best to establish a mission there. At that season sled travel is excellent. A few days sufficed for the journey and the return; and finding the trader, Mr. S. A. Fredericks, willing to dispose of the buildings Mr. Parker bought them for \$400. In this way the Board of Missions acquired its first holdings in Alaska.

It is not apparent that Mr. Fredericks took Mr. Parker into his confidence as to the reasons for his willingness to dispose of the buildings for so modest a sum; but a clue may, perhaps, be found in Lieutenant Schwatka's account of his visit to Anvik in the summer of 1883, while making a military reconnaissance of the Yukon. The account is given in his *The Great River of Alaska*.

It appears that he found Anvik in a state of considerable excitement. A party of natives had come down from the Innoko country, some two hundred miles distant, to meet a Russian priest from the lower Yukon and be baptized. These Innoko Indians were a hardy lot of moose hunters and it is evident that they became restless when the priest did not arrive as soon as expected. Feeling the need of excitement they made a plan to seize Mr. Fredericks and tie him up and loot his store. If he should offer too much resistance he was to be killed. The plot was discovered by the Anvik Indians, and when the Innokos attempted to carry it out they found themselves confronted by the Anvik men, armed. Schwatka says that they were baptized and went home vowing to come back and finish the job some other time. They did this a year or two before Mr. Parker's arrival in the country. The writer had an account of the looting of the store and the escape of the family from one of Mr. Fredericks' children, who told of making his way under cover of the bushes to the camp of the friendly Anvik people, more than a mile away.

We never learned who the individual marauders were; but the Innokos, as well as the Shageluks whose villages lay to the east of Anvik, later became adherents of the mission.

The writer was the second to receive a commission to the Alaskan field, and finding Mr. Parker at St. Michael in the summer of 1887, it seemed good to us both to join our forces and to begin work at Anvik as soon as possible. Mrs. Parker and her children returned to California.

The agent of the Company sold us a boat in which to transport our supplies; and we made the journey to Anvik, the last of three boats in tow of a small steamer.

When we arrived the natives were busy about their summer salmon fishing. This is the great event of the summer, since it means security from starvation during the winter. Dried salmon is food for both men and dogs and is even more important to them than bread is to us, because it is more useful as a single article of diet.

The Anvik people received us gladly and from that time to the present they have continued to be firm adherents of the Mission. The same is true of the Shageluk people. Some of the Innoko natives have come down and mingled with the Shageluks. Most of the remainder have been wiped out by drink.

When the Mission was established English was wholly unknown to the natives of the Yukon. A thousand miles farther up the river Archdeacon McDonald, of the Church of England, had made valuable translations for use in that region. The language is basically the same

as that at Anvik, but the dialects are so different that his translations were useless for us. Consequently it was necessary for us to learn enough of the Anvik dialect, which is widely used, to make sure that the translations which were later made should be correct. In this we had willing cooperation. Beginning with the Lord's Prayer and the Creed and the Ten Commandments, the list was finally extended to include the service of morning prayer and the gospels for all the Sundays and days of greater obligation of the Christian year. By this means we were able to provide for instruction and for public worship. This was accomplished before the first episcopal visitation, in 1896, and a class for confirmation was presented at that time.

A note of change had been struck within a year or two of the establishment of the mission, and this was the way of it. A half breed Russian trader had established himself in our neighborhood. Prices for fish and game were almost unbelievably low and we paid more than the trader thought was justified when we bought these things from the natives. A cup of tea weighing a quarter of a pound was valued at twenty-five cents, and that was what we paid for two grouse. Dennis—that was the trader's name—thought that this threatened the foundations of the existing social order. During the winter he and Mr. Chapman had occasion to be in St. Michael at the same time, to get supplies. At that time Mr. Henry Neuman was the Company agent. Mr. Neuman was a favorite with everyone, on account of his obliging disposition. He spoke both Russian and English, while Dennis could speak no English and Mr. Chapman could speak no Russian.

Dennis asked for an interview with Mr. Chapman in Mr. Neuman's presence. It should be noted that in the view of the half breed traders the Company represented the ultimate in authority.

Mr. Neuman began by saying that Dennis felt that we were paying the natives too much for the things that we bought from them, and that he wished that we would let him do the buying for us, and that we would find it to our advantage. Mr. Chapman asked whether Dennis complained that we had interfered with his fur trade. Dennis answered that he had no complaint to make on that score. Mr. Chapman then said, "I have bought one or two inferior skins for my own use, but I am not trading in skins and have no intention of doing so. I may have occasion to buy a very limited number of skins for my own use or for presents to personal friends. In that case I would prefer to buy them from the Company or its representative if I can get them at a reasonable price. Otherwise I shall get them wherever I

please. As for the grouse and rabbits, I prefer to get them directly from the natives."

Mr. Neuman repeated the message in Russian and then turned and said, "I told Dennis that I guess that the old times on the river have gone by".

Mr. Parker remained two years longer, in accordance with his agreement with the Board of Missions, and then rejoined his family in California; but before he left he had insisted on having Christian marriage instituted as the rule of life in that pagan community, and that has proved to be of enduring benefit and may be regarded as his monument.

Mr. Chapman went to the United States on his first furlough in 1893 and was married in that year. When he returned with Mrs. Chapman in 1894 they were accompanied by Deaconess Bertha Sabine and Dr. Mary V. Glenton. From that time until the recent drastic reduction in mission expenditures there has been a boarding school at the mission. The Reverend Henry H. Chapman was born at Anvik and is now the missionary in charge.

BOOK REVIEWS

They Were In Prison. A History of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1787-1937. By Negley K. Teeters. Introduction by Harry Elmer Barnes and a concluding chapter by Albert G. Fraser, Executive Secretary. 75 illustrations. 541 pages. Appendices, V. Bibliography. Index. The John C. Winston Co. Philadelphia. 1937.

They Were In Prison is an interesting account of the achievements of The Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons during the hundred and fifty years of its existence.

The Society was organized May 8, 1787, somewhat as an outgrowth of an earlier organization, The Philadelphia Society for Assisting Distressed Prisoners, established in 1776: at its centennial, in 1887, the title was changed to the Pennsylvania Prison Society, under which name it has continued its activities until now it has rounded out its sesqui-centennial. Many noted people have been prominent in its membership. Dr. Benjamin Rush was one of the organizers; Bishop White was its first president and continued in that capacity for 49 years, until his death, in 1836. Francis Fisher Kane is now president.

The need for such an association as this was occasioned by the unspeakable conditions existing in the Walnut Street Jail, where prisoners of all kinds and both sexes were herded together promiscuously—criminals of the worst type, untried prisoners, minors and debtors—though some effort was made to separate the latter class from the others. The preamble to the Constitution, after reciting the evils suffered by those unfortunate enough to be imprisoned, announces this guiding principle:

"By the aids of humanity, their undue and illegal sufferings may be prevented; the links which should bind the whole family of mankind together, under all circumstances, be preserved unbroken: and such degrees and modes of punishment may be discovered and suggested, as may, instead of continuing habits of vice, become the means of restoring our fellow creatures to virtue and happiness."

This principle of rehabilitation is the one fundamental that has influenced those most interested in penology and is today the basis of penal philosophy.

Parenthetically, it may be mentioned here that, while imprisonment for private debt was abolished in 1842, imprisonment for public debt still exists—that is to say, the magistrates have the power of imposing short terms of imprisonment for minor infractions of the law where the culprit is unable to pay an assessed fine.

From the first days of its existence, an acting committee from the membership of the Association, has been the functioning body. The members of the acting committee were charged with the duty of visiting the prisoners, maintaining contact with the authorities and originating recommendations for reform.

The assistance given in the beginning comprised principally food, clothing and blankets to relieve the distress of the prisoners. In the Walnut Street Jail

the daily allowance to persons committed for trial was only a half of a four-penny loaf, while those detained as witnesses had no allowance at all. No employment was provided and there was no way by which prisoners could secure relief for their distress except charity. No allowance whatever was made for imprisoned debtors. Robert Morris, the financier of the American Revolution, was imprisoned for debt in 1798, after unfortunate business ventures. In a letter from him to John Nicholson in February, 1798, he says: "Having no particular place allotted to me, I feel myself an intruder in every place in which I go. I sleep on other person's beds, I occupy other people's rooms."

The Englishman, John Howard, was probably the first major exponent of penal reform. Undoubtedly he had a decided influence in formulating the policies of The Philadelphia Society. In his observations throughout England he uncovered the sad plight of untried prisoners who were often allowed to languish for months in prison without relief or recourse to a determination of their guilt or innocence. The Philadelphia Society carried on an extensive correspondence with him and received much advice and encouragement from him and from his efforts.

From the first the main objective of The Philadelphia Society was solitary confinement, i. e., the strict segregation of one prisoner from another, so as to prevent evil associations which might continue after release. This was somewhat different in its objectives from that of the Massachusetts doctrine which was based on the idea that the criminal deserved no pity and that the more severe the punishment the more worthy the system. It was also different from that practiced in New York, known as the "congregate system", where prisoners were permitted to work in groups under strict supervision to prevent conversation or collusion, but were locked in separate cells at night.

When the Eastern Penitentiary was built, as an outcome of years of effort on the part of The Philadelphia Society, it was so designed that each prisoner had a cell to himself, so arranged that he could neither see nor communicate with any other prisoner. When he was committed, a hood was placed over his head in the warden's office and he was then led to his cell. Once there he worked, ate and slept alone. The ground floor cells had a small yard attached where the prisoner was permitted to exercise for a limited time each day; the upper cells were in pairs so that he might work in one and sleep in the other. "Solitary confinement", however, did not mean that he had no intercourse at all with his fellow men, for he had daily visits from the warders and frequent visits from members of the acting committee of The Philadelphia Society.

In the Eastern Penitentiary in the beginning no provision was made for furnishing the prisoners with employment and intercourse even with the keepers was extremely limited. It was soon found that this tended to produce melancholia and finally insanity; this inhuman treatment was later modified after much agitation and discussion.

It took nearly a hundred years to change the views of penal authorities to what they are at present: that crime is a species of disease and needs special study and special treatment. It has been proven that punishment does not reform or decrease crime. But, rather, an effort should be made to awaken the better instincts of the criminal and bring him back to normal manhood and to reestablish him in a place of organized society among his fellow beings when released. To this end a professionally trained psychological personnel is now employed in this work, although the acting committee has by no means ceased in its interest for and efforts in behalf of prisoners.

During the closing years of the last century it began to be recognized that

solitary confinement, as practiced in the Eastern Penitentiary, was no longer practicable. For one thing, overcrowding, as in the case of the old Walnut Street Jail, required placing more than one prisoner in each cell, and something more or less like the New York system was introduced. Prisoners now work, eat and have their exercise and recreation in groups and are only locked in their cells at night, except in certain cases of flagrant violations of the rules and regulations, rioting, etc. This idea has been further carried out in the new penitentiary erected at Gratersford to relieve the congestion at the Eastern Penitentiary. Being in the country where unlimited space is available rather than in the city where there is no longer room for expansion, the Gratersford Penitentiary is spread out and provides out-door work as well as in the shops and the prisoners are allowed greater freedom in their activities. Naturally only those of proven trustworthiness are given these increased privileges, while the more desperate and untrustworthy are still greatly restricted.

In the early days of The Philadelphia Society delinquent children and those of stunted mentality were confined in the same prisons with the degenerate criminal. Through the efforts of the Society a House of Refuge to care for these classes was established. This was followed in time, by the Sleighton Farm and the Glen Mills School.

Also, early in the history of The Philadelphia Society an organization known as The Magdalen Society was formed to care for delinquent women and girls, with the avowed object of providing a refuge where their lives might be reformed and they could be prepared for employment in legitimate occupations. The White-Williams Foundation, named in honor of Bishop White and of George Williams, fifth president of The Philadelphia Society, is the regenerated outgrowth of The Magdalen Society and is a most worthy institution in this field.

The Philadelphia Society was instrumental in bringing about legislation providing for a Board of Pardons to assist the Executive, and for a maximum and minimum sentence for certain crimes, thus giving an incentive for good behavior among prisoners. The Society was also instrumental in a provision being made for a "Volunteer Defender" to look into the cases of those held for trial who were unable to employ legal assistance and who were obviously entitled to the protection of their legal rights when on trial. Mr. Francis Fisher Kane was one of the prime movers in this work and in 1936 he was awarded the Edward A. Bok Award in recognition of his years of work in promoting this humanitarian organization.

The first salaried agent of The Philadelphia Society who devoted his entire time to the task of prison reform was William J. Mullen. He became a member of the Society in 1849. Having been a merchant for many years, Mr. Mullen gave up his business in 1854 to devote his entire time to this work, in which he continued with great success until his death in 1882.

Mr. Albert G. Fraser, the present Executive Secretary of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, became associated with it in 1925, and under his able management great progress has been and is being made in the cause of penal reform of Pennsylvania.

In conclusion, Mr. Teeters says of the Pennsylvania Prison Society:

"The methods used naturally changed with the times, but the objective has always been the same. Sympathy of treatment, a genuine understanding of the problems of the unfortunates and a persistent singleness of purpose have all marked the great work of these men. It is a pleasure

to record such work. These men will be remembered as long as the Pennsylvania Prison Society remains active."

This is a monumental work and an outstanding contribution to the history of penal reform.

—PETER ARRELL BROWNE.

The Life of Marie Moulton Graves Hopkins, Beloved Wife of John Henry Hopkins, and the Story of Their Life and Work Together. By John Henry Hopkins. Privately printed, 1934. 265 pp.

The like of this book we have never seen or read in *Ecclesiastica Americana*. It is the tribute of a distinguished priest and rector to his wife. The joy and usefulness of "their life and work together" call to mind the Kingsleys and the Brownings. In this book the hero is always subordinate to the heroine and every word is written with the pen of love. Perhaps because of this, there is plenty of delightful humor, many passages bringing chuckles to the reader.

Altogether aside from the portrait of a gifted and charming woman we have an excellent picture of the Church in the Middle West from 1890 to 1930. After curacies in Calvary Church, New York, and St. James' Church, Chicago, Dr. Hopkins served as rector of the parishes in Atchison, Kansas, and St. Joseph, Missouri. Then to Chicago where after ten years as rector of the Church of the Epiphany (1899-1908), and Field Secretary of the Fifth Missionary Department (1908-1910), the fruitful ministry in their fourth and last parish, the Church of the Redeemer, Hyde Park, 1910-1929, was rendered.

We could wish that the president of every diocesan branch might read how Mrs. Hopkins built up the Woman's Auxiliary in the Diocese of Chicago.

Dr. Hopkins is "Exhibit A" in reply to the clergyman who fears that if he retires he will "rust out." This book alone would be sufficient justification for his retirement. In addition there have come from his pen two brilliant articles in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*—"Bishop John Henry Hopkins" and "John Henry Hopkins II"—and "The Great Forty Years in the Diocese of Chicago (1893-1934)", published 1936.

WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

A History of St. Augustine's College, 1867-1937. By Cecil D. Halliburton. St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina. 1937. 98 pp.

We have long maintained that the best kind of missionary propaganda is historical truth. The present volume is another proof of it. Anyone who reads it cannot but feel that whatever St. Augustine's has cost the Church in money, it has been worth far more to the welfare of the Negro and the country than it cost. The sacrificial lives who have made the college what it is today had been, or would soon have been forgotten, were it not for this history which recalls them to mind and stimulates our gratitude.

Bishop Atkinson of North Carolina was the prime mover in its establishment. The Rev. Dr. J. Brinton Smith was the first principal, succeeded by the Rev. Drs. John E. C. Smedes and Robert B. Sutton, all three covering a period of twenty years. Under the Rev. Dr. A. B. Hunter who became principal in 1888, St. Augustine's entered upon a period of expansion. The American Church Institute for Negroes which entered the picture in 1906, raises much of its revenue and determines its fundamental policies. The Rev. Dr. Edgar H. Goold was the last principal and first president, and still directs its operations.

The development of the college, both physically and academically, is exceedingly interesting. Starting as a Normal School and Collegiate Institute, it took Negro students as it found them in their educational preparation, and advanced the standards as rapidly as conditions warranted. It is now accredited by the North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction and by the Southern Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools. St. Augustine's contribution to the leadership of the Negroes in America can not be fully measured. St. Agnes' Hospital alone fulfills a unique mission in its field.

To the ordinary reader it does not seem that the author has forgotten any person who had a conspicuous share in the upbuilding of the college. For this reason, as well as for others, an index is needed and it is to be hoped that future editions will be supplied with one.

Incidentally the writing of this volume proved the need of complete archives in every diocese. In seeking important data concerning the first principal—J. Brinton Smith—it was necessary to canvass the archives of the Diocese of New Jersey which are like those of most dioceses—entirely inadequate.

WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary: 1843-1844. Edited with an introduction by Lester B. Shippee. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis. 1937. 208 pp.

The development of personality in all its stages is one of the most interesting things in the world. This book is a valuable contribution to the study of the growth of Henry Benjamin Whipple, first Bishop of Minnesota. Whipple was not only an outstanding character in American Church history in his generation, but in relation to the history of America's dealings with the Indians, he was not unimportant in the social and political history of the nation. The late Dr. Folwell in the concluding chapter of his four volume *History of Minnesota* entitled, "Acts of the Apostles", lists and discusses Bishop Whipple at some length among the "twelve apostles" of Minnesota.

When young Whipple, then only 22 years old, spent the fall and winter of 1843-44 in the South in search of health, he had not yet been ordained, and so far as the diary indicates had not even considered taking Orders. He was not ordained until 1849. But there are indications of gropings in that direction. His righteous indignation over the treatment of the Seminole Indians foreshadowed his battles in behalf of the Indians of Minnesota twenty years later. His distress over the cruelty, brutality and injustice which he witnessed, his concern over moral conditions and the forces of irreligion, and his shrewd observation, several times repeated in the pages of this diary, that "the evil of slavery is as great to the master as to the slave," are clearly evident. He was, however, essentially sane on the slavery question, and could be classed as a "rational abolitionist"—one who favored its gradual rather than its cataclysmic elimination.

This diary is also rich in source material for conditions in the South during the Forties. He traveled by boat from New York to Savannah, Georgia; then to St. Augustine, Florida, where he stayed longest; across Georgia and Alabama by railroad and boat to New Orleans; up the Mississippi River to St. Louis, and up the Ohio to Cincinnati, and from the latter place to Cumberland by stage. There he boarded a Baltimore and Ohio train for Baltimore and Washington; then to Philadelphia and home. Philadelphia, of all the cities he visited, appears

to have pleased him the most, because the forces of religion and morality were strong there, and its many patriotic memorials delighted him.

On page 129 Whipple states: "We reached Memphis in 2 22½ 24 a distance of 800 miles from New Orleans." The editor adds a footnote to the effect that "one guess is as good as another as to what the writer meant by these figures." It seems to this reviewer that he clearly meant 2 days, 22½ hours, 24 minutes, for on page 132 Whipple says: "We are at St. Louis, having made the trip (of about 1,100 miles) in 4 days, 12 hours." Young Whipple was already a keen judge of men and a careful observer of facts with a talent for getting along with all sorts and conditions of men—qualities which his parochial ministry and episcopate brought to full bloom. He notes that the river boat *Missouri* in its trip from New Orleans to St. Louis used 500 cords of wood which cost one-third of the round trip expense of \$3,200. He describes the capitol building in Washington outside and in, gives the dimensions, and notes that "the north wing cost \$480,262.57; south wing, \$308,808.41; centre building, \$957,647.35." He was depressed by the character of the House of Representative but "proud of our Senate."

The editor in his introduction devotes 16 pages to an outline of Bishop Whipple's life which is very good, especially his summary of the Bishop's part in Indian affairs, but is wanting in his appraisal of his leadership among the whites, particularly in building up the Episcopal Church. Bishop Whipple was a household name in the family of this reviewer which he here states merely to show his great influence among the rank and file of Episcopalians in Minnesota. To fill out the picture in its true proportions some such paragraph as the following should be added to the introduction:

"Whipple saw to it that churches were planted all over Minnesota and his foundations were for the most part strong and deep. One indication of his bigness is that able clergymen and laymen were attracted to him and glad to serve under him. Evidence of the character of his planting is to be found in the fact that the Episcopal Church to this day is stronger in Minnesota, relative to the population, than in any other Middle Western state, except South Dakota."

This diary was found among Bishop Whipple's papers after his death (1901) and was deposited with the Minnesota Historical Society in 1931. It is a valuable contribution to the ecclesiastical as well as the social, political and economic history of America.

WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

Apostle of China. Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky. 1831-1906. By James Arthur Muller. Morehouse Publishing Co. 1937. Pp. 279.

Professor Muller has laid the whole American Church under obligation by this Biography of Bishop Schereschewsky; truly described as the "Apostle of China". The discovery of the material is an illustration of the romance and reward of persistent historical research, and also of the crying need of cataloguing forgotten material lying in the cellar of the Church Missions House, and in countless other places. There, and in the archives of the American Bible Society, Dr. Muller discovered invaluable manuscripts in the shape of letters and journals.

These have been skillfully woven into a Biography which is surely destined to become a classic. Schereschewsky was born a Russian Jew in 1831. Emigrating to America in 1854, the following year he embraced the Christian faith and entered a Presbyterian Seminary, the record of which runs: "Jew—dropped by order—gone to the Episcopalians for a time". After a brief period at the General Theological Seminary, he accompanied Bishop Boone to China when he was twenty-seven years old. There his activities varied from acting as Chinese secretary to the U. S. Legation, to preaching in the English chapel and translating portions of the Scriptures and the Prayer Book into the Mandarin dialect. With the utmost difficulty he was persuaded to accept election as the "Missionary Bishop of Shanghai, with jurisdiction in China". In graphic words Dr. Muller unfolds the story of this memorable episcopate—the labors oft—the incessant struggle to make appropriations meet expanding work—the beginnings of St. John's College, coupled with the daily care of all the churches, and not least, the internal dissensions arising from divergent churchmanship. The high light is the heroic record of the bishop's mastery of fell circumstance. As the result of a sun-stroke he was paralyzed in both hands and feet and deprived of full freedom of speech. When most men would have given up in despair he spelled out with one finger on a typewriter a translation of the Bible from the original tongues into the Easy Wenli, the book language of China. His linguistic attainments were remarkable. He spoke thirteen languages and could read twenty. Schereschewsky was a hero who worked at his translations till a few hours before his death in 1906. Four years before he died he said to a friend: "I have sat in this chair for over twenty years. It seemed very hard at first. But God knew best. He kept me for the work for which I am best fitted". The Church has waited twenty-one years for a Biography of this Apostle of China. It was worth waiting. Dr. Muller has produced a book which is informing, illuminating and inspiring, and is, in addition, beautifully printed and illustrated.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

The Reverend George Ross, S. P. G., Missionary at New Castle, Delaware. By Edgar L. Pennington. Worcester, Massachusetts, U. S. A. Published by the Society. 1937. Pp. 34.

Dr. Pennington adds another of his contributions to the colonial period of the history of the Church in the shape of a sketch of the life and work of the Reverend George Ross. Like all his work it is painstaking and based upon original sources.

William Tyndale. By J. F. Mozley. New York. The Macmillan Co. Pp. 364.

It is sixty-six years ago since a Biography of Tyndale was written. In the intervening years much new material has come to light which is incorporated in this volume. Like most English biography this is a model.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS

Did the missionaries of the Church in Litchfield County, Connecticut, from 1795 to 1800, keep records of baptisms and marriages?

Did the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts have a headquarters where such records were filed?

The S. P. G. had no headquarters here. Doubtless the missionaries reported to London their official acts of baptism, marriages, etc., but it is hardly likely that they reported the names of those baptized. You might, however, enquire of the S. P. G. at

Tufton Street, Westminster, London.

Can you say when the Rev. Richard Gibson officiated in Portsmouth, New Hampshire?

Mr. Gibson, a priest of the Church of England, came to the American colonies in 1636. The latter part of that year he officiated at Saco, Maine; afterwards on the Isle of Shoals. There is a record of occasional ministration at Portsmouth as early as 1638. In 1643 he was summoned to appear before a Puritan Court in Boston to answer a charge of officiating on the Isle of Shoals. In view of the fact that he was a "stranger" he was spared the infliction of a penalty. He returned to England at the end of 1643 or early in 1644.

